HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

THIRTY-FIVE CENTS

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SECRET MEETING IN SAN FRANCISCO

Humphrey Wants Reuther in the State Department

By VICTOR RIESEL

San Francisco:—Early in the morning of December 11th, Hubert Humphrey's Secret Service guards were notified to permit Walter Reuther to enter the vice president's Hotel Fairmont suite. From that moment on, the mystery bubbled in this city where the nation's 900 most influential labor leaders have been conferring on high-level foreign and domestic policies.

Now, some days later, a handful of truly informed men believe they've cracked the mystery on the private talk between the vice president of the United States and the one man he singled out of all the other union chiefs.

Men who are considered among the best informed in the United States have heard that Mr. Humphrey eagerly is pushing the redhaired auto union leader into the top areas of State Department global policy and strategy—planning.

It is understood that the vice president wants Reuther named to the powerfully influential State Department planning board. It does not have decision-making powers. But it does have influence with the President, the White House staff, the Pentagon and the secretary of state.

It would be the first time a labor leader was named to such a board, if Mr. Humphrey does get the Detroiter onto it.

There seems to be little doubt in the ultra-high echelon labor circles that Mr. Humphrey will get his old friend and long-time political colleague into State Department activity—although Secretary of State Dean Rusk was surprised to hear the news when questioned here.

The dynamic auto union chief long has been immersed in foreign affairs and has rarely returned from frequent conferences with labor leaders abroad without requesting an appointment with President Johnson for a de-briefing.

Now that many governments abroad are headed by labor leaders and former labor lawyers on at least four continents, Mr. Reuther's interests have deepened and his talks in Washington have increased.

He does not see eye-to-eye with the national AFL-CIO leaders on a final solution in Viet Nam and his disagreement on verbiage delayed the passage of the Viet Nam resolution by the sixth constitutional AFL-CIO convention.

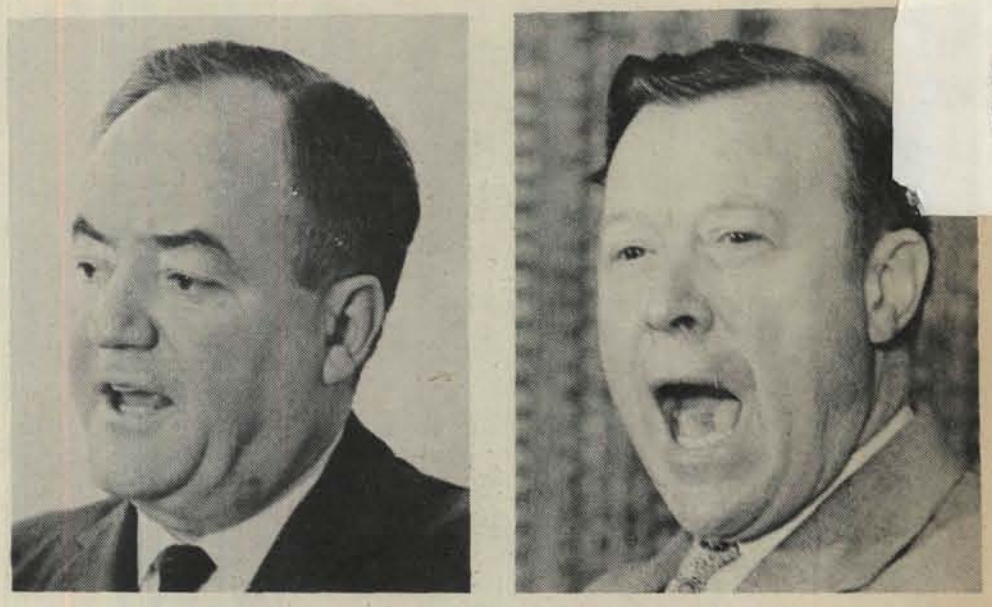
Reuther and the labor chiefs back President Johnson's policies, but the Detroiter wants more immediate negotiations, while the other labor leaders want a smashing victory in America's hand as a powerful card to be played at the negotiations table.

The few men here who are in the know see Reuther's move towards the State Department planning board as the first step in a long journey into foreign affairs.

The "Red Head" now is 58 years old and must retire from his auto union presidency in less than seven years. Reuther hardly is a man to retire and spend his time whittling furniture, which he does very well. So he is seen preparing to play an eventual role in the international conflict between the United States, the Soviet Union and Communist China.

To prepare for such far-flung international activity which may soon send him globe-trotting, Reuther has consolidated all his domestic fronts. His power never will be seriously challenged inside the huge auto union. The entire high command there with two exceptions are his loyal supporters.

He has launched an "organize-the-poor" poverty program which must depend on the United Auto Workers since the campaign's first million dollars is being supplied by this union.



Vice President Hubert Humphrey and United Auto Workers head Walter Reuther conferred privately during the recent AFL-CIO convention.

The labor organizing drives which have been discussed here are based on the industrial union department of which Reuther is president.

And at the AFL-CIO convention he consolidated his final important front. There now is a powerful bloc of AFL-CIO vice presidents who will support him while he is at the labor executive council's policy-making session—and battle for him when he is away.

For days during the early part of the convention, it was not certain that he could name those vice presidents he wanted to fill the vacancies in the so-called young blood transfusion.

Reuther wanted his good friend, the erudite and legally trained Ralph Helstein, president of the militant Packinghouse Workers, to be named an AFL-CIO vice president. Precedent has it that the former CIO leaders caucus and pick a successor to outgoing vice presidents who were CIO chiefs before the merger.

Reuther called the CIO caucus last week. There was a battle. The attack against Reuther and Helstein was led by big Joe Curran, the blunt National Maritime Union leader. Mighty harsh words were shouted. But Reuther held tight until a vote was taken. There was a tie and he voted making it four to three for Helstein.

That was the most significant aspect of the name game and age counting which has marked the AFL-CIO "shake-up"—the formation of a strong Reuther contingent made up of men who were close to him when he was president of the old CIO.

Thus, with all his domestic operations under smooth control, Reuther can turn to advising the State Department and President Johnson on foreign matters.

And in some future administration, perhaps one headed by Hubert Humphrey, he may even move higher.

(Distributed 1964 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

What's Happened to the Poverty Probe?

Adam Clayton Powell's subcommittee is reportedly almost out of money, but no hearings have been held, no reports distributed.

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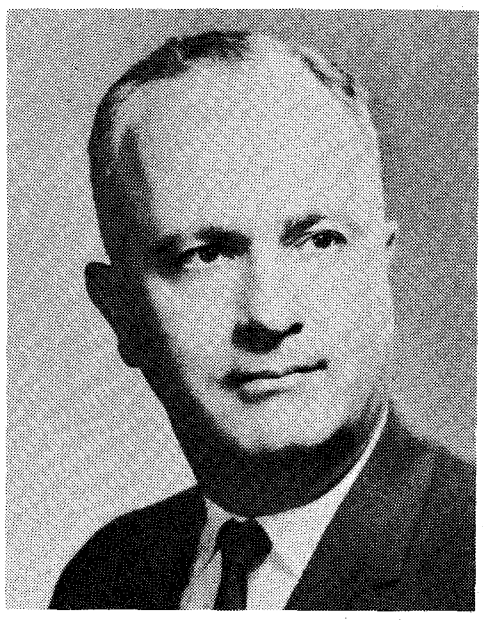
'Poverty' Politics vs. Education

By RUSSELL KIRK

"If only they'd take politics out of the war against poverty!" Thus lamented a young lady to your servant the other day. Alas, I replied, that never can happen: for by definition, a governmental program is political. One might as well ask, "Why can't Lyndon Johnson and Adam Clayton Powell be non-political?"

Now the flood of "poverty war" funds from Washington is being employed as a political instrument for gaining control of public educational systems. This struggle first came to light in the Chicago school system this autumn, but now may be discerned in California.

Dr. Max Rafferty, California's reforming superintendent of public instruction, has been at loggerheads with the state board of education, whose members are appointed by Gov. Pat Brown, liberal Democrat. (Dr. Rafferty, though elected by a large majority



Dr. Max Rafferty is under fire from California liberals for not distributing "poverty" funds quickly enough.

on a non-partisan ticket, is generally regarded as a Republican.)

Despite Dr. Rafferty's success in office, the Democrats on the state board would like to see this reformer defeated, in next fall's election, by one of their own faction. Therefore, the board's majority endeavor to embarrass Rafferty whenever they can, and to diminish his powers.

California was allocated $78 million of federal "poverty war" funds, to be spent in "impoverished" Californian school districts. While Superintendent Rafferty drew up plans for using this money prudently, members of the board of education shouted that he was incompetent, because he had not immediately scattered the $78 million broadcast over California. (Precisely such hasty squandering of "poverty war" monies has made poverty programs worthless, or worse than useless, in several cities—most notably in Harlem.)

But the state board's majority saw in this federal "poverty" largess more opportunity than a mere deriding of Dr. Rafferty. Could not the board of education itself gain control over this manna from Washington, and so establish a new patronage empire in California's public schools?

By California's constitution, the elected superintendent of public instruction controls the expenditure of funds and the administration of large programs. But the California Legislature was induced to pass a statute of dubious constitutionality, effective last July, creating in the California Department of Education the new office of director of Compensatory Education; and the recently appointed director of this bureau is regarded as obedient to the state board of education, rather than to Superintendent Rafferty. Through this new official's hands, the federal "poverty" money will be funnelled to California schools.

As a gentleman active in California politics observes to me, "What this new legislation accomplishes, in effect, is to set up a separate Department of Education under the direction of the board appointed by Governor Brown—or by the California Democratic Council which seems to select board members.

"This new office will spend the $78 million of 'federal' money, independent of the state legislature, as well as independent of Rafferty. You see the threat to state control of education."

Indeed I do. In general, "poverty" funds work toward political centralization and the enlargement of liberal political machines.

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Who Is Great?

From the Washington *Evening Star*

Up in Queens, N.Y., before they had their mid-morning milk and cookies, the kindergarten tots used to recite one of the most familiar of childhood rhymes. It went:

God is great, God is good
And we thank him for our food.

In time, however, in his horror at this flagrant violation of the principle of church-state separation, the school principal banned this and the afternoon recitation of a similar verse. So his order was appealed by parents and in due course has been upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

At first, back in 1962, the court had ruled out only state-composed prayers in school, in what many had said was a limited decision. Many of the rest of us, however, wondered where it all would lead. Well, now we know. In banning this innocuous recitation, the court has surely traveled to the ultimate, absurd extreme.

Kindergarten kids ought to have a rhyme to go with their milk and cookies, and they ought to have something, too, to explain to them the mysteries of the adult world. Maybe the courts, to serve both purposes, would allow this to stand:

In this country of the free,
God is gone from 9 to 3.

☐ ☐ ☐

OBVIOUS FIRST STEP—"A news story says the Russians and their East German stooges have plans to beautify East Berlin. The most beneficial first move would be to tear down the wall—but that isn't quite what the Commies had in mind. They lose enough subjects as it is."—From the Oklahoma City *Daily Oklanoman*

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Vote-Getter in '64

Election Year Tax Cut May Well Be Canceled

By WALTER TROHAN

Don't look now, but that $11.5-billion tax cut voted for the 1964 presidential campaign year may be slipping out of your pocket. The cut may survive the 1966 congressional campaign year when Democrats fight to hold their own overwhelming majority in the House and Senate, but it is under fire from administration-minded economists.

The tax cut was urged by the late President Kennedy, but he couldn't get it through Congress. At the outset of 1964, when President Johnson and Democrats in Congress were facing an election year, they quickly passed a bill for a two-stage tax cut, including $7.7 billion in 1964 and reaching $11.5 billion in 1965.

Tax withholding was fixed for the full $11.5-billion income tax cut in 1964 to make voters happy. When they came to make out their returns in 1965, the taxpayers found that their withholding was set too low, so that they had to dig deep into their pockets or borrow to pay what was due.

There was considerable taxpayer outrage, but the election was over with President Johnson winning a thumping 16-million vote majority and Democrats swelling their margin of control in both branches of Congress. Many taxpayers learned too late that there may have been more interest in winning an election than in providing tax relief.

At the signing of the tax cut, President Johnson called the slash "the single most important step that we have taken to strengthen our economy since World War II." He had the full support of Administration economists.

Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler reportedly feels a tax increase is needed to pay for Viet Nam war.

Recently there have been trial balloons on increasing taxes to finance the war in Viet Nam, but the war could be an excuse to cover proposed increased spending for the "Great Society." There are reports that the coming budget will go over the $100-billion mark. The current budget is just under the mark at $99.7 billion. It has been reported that the budget for the fiscal year which will begin next July 1 will be between $105 and $107 billion.

Word was leaked in Washington and in Paris, where Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler was attending a meeting of North Atlantic Treaty Organization ministers, that Administration officials are seriously considering a substantial tax increase to pay for new spending on the war in Viet Nam. Denials were quick but inconclusive.

White House Press Secretary Bill D. Moyers denied that Administration officials have taken up the topic with the President. This denial didn't say flatly that Administration officials are not considering such a step. Fowler was quick to assert that the topic is not being seriously considered at this time. That wouldn't mean that consideration might not reach the serious stage any moment.

It is significant that officials in Washington aren't talking about another tax cut, when only two years ago they were convinced that tax-cutting was the road to stimulating the national economy. Instead, economists are talking of tax increases as the best way of combating inflation, because tax increases would siphon off the rise in private purchasing power.

Harvard Prof. John K. Galbraith, author of *The Affluent Society*, who does very well himself, thank you, told a congressional committee investigating the Federal Reserve Board's increase in the discount rate that if the coming budget shows a need for restraint there is "no doubt in my mind that taxes should be raised." He added that a tax increase on the rich would be better than increasing interest rates for the near-rich and the poor.

As a matter of practical politics, a tax increase in an election year might be awkward for members of Congress. Some believe that Johnson opposed the Reserve Board's increase in the discount rate only because he wanted to pose as a low-interest man, and that he really favored the rise.

Such persons may be overly suspicious, but if one believes that taxes are cut to win elections, he can easily believe that spenders look to increases after the election is won.

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BENEVOLENT TERRORISM—LBJ's dictatorial role in the recent aluminum crisis has shocked many long favorable to the chief executive. Columnist Richard Wilson is one: "Johnson achieved the result he wanted by a kind of benevolent terrorism unsanctioned by law . . . . The guideline principle, as applied in aluminum to decisions of management and not to demands of labor, is wholly unsatisfactory when judged by standards of uniformity and justice. Nor is it a sound principle that the man in the White House, whoever he happens to be, shall decide what is the right price and what is the wrong price."

□ □ □

BOBBY PARA PRESIDENTE—Some Latin Americans are talking about Bobby Kennedy for President. LBJ has no objections. As far as he is concerned Bobby can be president of any Latin American country that wants him.—By Lyn Nofziger in the San Diego *Union*

AFL-CIO's Package Deal Invites Swifter Inflation

From the Nashville *Banner*

Compulsory unionism, bigger wage increases, larger slices of Social Security pie—these constituted the bulk of AFL-CIO demands voiced in resolutions presented at the San Francisco convention; with emphasis on that portion of the aggregate program requiring congressional action.

That organized labor herewith is renewing its demand for repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act is self-evident; as is the fact that it is ignoring all suggestions for restraint on the wage spiral.

While these were foregone policy conclusions, in the light of President George Meany's opening declaration for what was called "a bigger share of America's prosperity," Point 3 staggers the imagination.

The proposal is to increase by 50 per cent the Social Security benefits and double payroll taxes to help pay for them, leaving any unmet costs thereof simply up to the Federal Treasury. Simultaneously they propose to raise the portion of annual wages taxable for this purpose from the new 1966 level ($6,600) to $15,000.

Note the particulars of that: Under the present law, the Social Security tax has been 3.625 per cent on the employe and 3.625 per cent on the employer—for a total of 7.25 per cent on $4,800 of income. Including the Medicare cost, added, that goes to 4.2 per cent on each—for a total of 8.4 per cent on $6,600 of income, effective January 1.

The AFL-CIO resolution would call for 16.8 per cent—with the range of its levy raised to $15,000; adding that much to what the wage-earner already is paying as income tax.

That is recklessness gone berserk; hardly exceeded in the wildest schemes of Socialistic fancy.

As a package deal it would step up the pace of inflation, already eating away at dollars earned and dollars saved. Far from creating jobs, it ultimately would price them out of existence. And insofar as the Social Security structure is concerned, it would jeopardize that whole stystem.

To sober-minded constituents inclined to count costs and take soundings—and conversant with the history of other rule-or-ruin adventures—these proposals must have reminded of John L. Lewis and what he did both to the coal industry and his own United Mine Workers. His campaign as a labor dictator not only impoverished whole regions such as the Appalachian area, but threw hundreds of thousands of miners permanently out of work. It is exactly such ventures of folly that have increased the tempo of automation.

Congress has a primary responsiblity of maintaining fiscal integrity, in the interest of national solvency; and to guard such programs as Social Security—legislatively its own creation—from wild-eyed designs of abuse.

On the manipulation suggested, calculated not just to rock the boat, but to capsize it, majority American opinion unquestionably will say "No."

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• House GOP leaders have indicated they will oppose any attempt by the Administration to hike taxes to finance the war in Viet Nam and the soaring costs of the "Great Society." Minority Leader Gerald Ford said that Republicans would, instead, seek to slash domestic spending. Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.), chairman of the House GOP Conference, and Rep. John Byrnes (R.-Wis.), ranking Republican on the Ways and Means Committee, agreed that the domestic spending programs of the Administration must be checked.

BYRNES

• *The Los Angeles County grand jury has recommended that persons guilty of leadership or participation in the Watts riots be prosecuted to the fullest. The 23-member panel found that the outbreak was not racial in nature but was caused by a criminal element which capitalized on a traffic arrest to launch an orgy of crime. "This riot was equally abhorred and resented by all good, law-abiding citizens, regardless of race or status," the grand jury said. "There can be no extenuating circumstances to rationalize this ruthless outbreak of lawlessness and those who are convicted of leadership or participation in this riot should be punished to the full extent of the law."*

• LBJ has granted a Christmas pardon to former Rep. Frank Boykin (D.-Ala.), who was convicted in 1963 of conspiracy to defraud the United States in violating the conflict of interest laws. Boykin was not given a prison sentence because of his advancing age. The effect of LBJ's pardon is to clear Boykin's record and restore the civil rights he lost under the conviction. Boykin told newsmen that since he had received a full and unconditional pardon his fine would also be returned.

BOYKIN

• *The near-treasonable "Vietnik" activity here at home has produced this side effect: Pilots and crewmen aboard the* USS Enterprise, *operating off South Viet Nam, are reluctant to give their names and home towns to reporters. Reason: Fear of telephone calls to relatives by "Vietniks," similar to those received by some widows of fallen GIs.*

• The Washington *Evening Star* last week scored the recommendation of MIT Dean Jerome Wiesner that the Administration join with the USSR to postpone any work on anti-ballistic missile defense system (ABM). In a report submitted to the White House Conference on International Cooperation, Wiesner and colleagues said that development of an ABM would spur the arms race. Commented the *Star*: "What baffles us . . . is the Wiesner group's bland faith in the thought that an agreement with the Kremlin—explicit or tacit—is a guarantee of anything. The Russians have made plain that they take the ABM's potential most seriously. We hope the President and Mr. McNamara give the most careful consideration to the unanimous counsel of the Joint Chiefs, which seems to us more persuasive than Dr. Wiesner's."

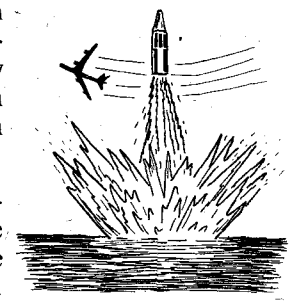
WIESNER

• *Sen. Edward V. Long (D.-Mo.), chairman of the Senate subcommittee investigating government wiretapping and invasion of privacy, said last week that some Internal Revenue Service agents "are threatening the constitutional liberties of the American people." He said in a New York speech that these agents "do not hesitate to harass taxpayers, lawyers, bankers—anyone who gets in their way."*

This Week in Washington

McNamara Strikes Again

The Army is faced with a serious shortage of helicopters and pilots next year. And military experts say the blame lies with Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, who drastically slashed helicopter production at the very time Viet Nam became a "chopper" war.



Richard Fryklund, ace Pentagon correspondent for the Washington *Star*, described the crisis in a report last week. "Because of the reduction, the Army lost 180 valuable helicopters, enough of the aircraft to add another seven companies to the more than 25 now in South Viet Nam," he wrote.

The first wrong decision was made two years ago when McNamara rejected an Army request to continue helicopter production at 900 aircraft a year. He cut that back to 720 with an order taking effect in July of last year. By that time the Army was stretching its helicopter companies to keep up with the demands of the South Vietnamese Army and was predicting a severe shortage.

Then last fall, Fryklund reveals, the Army again asked for 900 helicopters and McNamara again slashed this figure to 720. The autocratic defense chief then compounded that error by ordering a cut in pilot training.

The Army had been turning out about 1,800 helicopter pilots a year. Anticipating a shortage, the Army asked permission to train 2,400. McNamara refused and then ordered a reduction to 1,500 a year.

These two decisions, made last December, were to take effect July 1 of this year. In February the United States greatly stepped up its war effort. Helicopters were vital not only to carry and defend the South Vietnamese Army but the U.S. Army as well. Again the Army predicted a shortage. And again McNamara defended his cutback before Congress and Congress approved.

By summer, however, there was no doubt the Army was desperately short of helicopters and pilots. McNamara finally ordered helicopter production increased to 1,920 a year and pilot training to 3,780. But the damage had been done. Fryklund concludes:

"Despite the present high level of training and production, the Army is facing a real squeeze in pilots and choppers."

• Evidence mounts that McNamara's highly touted FB-111 is woefully inadequate for the national defense. The FB-111 is a modified version of the controversial TFX fighter that McNamara plans as a replacement for the allegedly obsolete B-52 long-range bomber.

McNamara told a news conference the FB-111 would have the same range as the B-52. But official Air Force figures credit older B-52s with a range of 6,000 miles, or 50 per cent more than the 4,000-mile range of the FB-111. Moreover, the newer B-52s have even more impressive ranges of 8,000-10,000 miles.

The FB-111 will be slower than the B-52 when carrying a full load of bombs. What is needed, Air Force experts insist, is a supersonic, manned carry-on bomber. This McNamara has defiantly refused to authorize, despite the unanimous entreaties of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Preparedness subcommittee, says flatly the B-111 is inadequate, describing the qualities needed in a new manned bomber:

"It would have greatly enhanced operational capabilities. It would be able to penetrate enemy defenses at very low levels [beneath enemy radar] at the speed of sound. At higher altitudes its speed would be more than twice the speed of sound. It would have the range to penetrate enemy targets and to return to its home base without refueling. It would carry a wide variety of improved armament, including vastly improved, versatile and accurate air-launched missiles."

NOTICE

Beginning with this first issue of 1966, a new page number has been added alongside the centerfold at the bottom of every page. These new page numbers will be cumulative throughout the year and will be of great assistance to our staff in research and cataloguing activities. They will also be extremely useful in the 1966 Bound Volume of **Human Events** because they will permit much more simplified page references in the index. The regular weekly page numbers will continue to appear in their usual place at the bottom outside of every page.

Sorenson vs. Honesty

A revealing item in Theodore Sorenson's gushing biography of the late President, *Kennedy*, sheds some light on the political and intellectual honesty of JFK's political lieutenants.

Recalling that Kennedy launched his campaign for re-election immediately after he first won Senate victory in 1952, Sorenson details the "five fundamental approaches" used.

One device, he says, was the mailing of a comprehensive annual report to constituents, telling them, in effect, how much Kennedy was doing for Massachusetts.

"We justified it," Sorenson says in a remarkable admission on page 75, "on the legislator's historic responsibility to account for his stewardship to his constituents; and when we were unable to find a sufficiently brief quotation from an early American statesman to use effectively, Lee White and I invented one and attributed it to 'one of our founding fathers.'"

White was a member of Sorenson's staff when the latter became White House chief counsel in 1961. White was moved up to that post by President Johnson when Sorenson left the White House to write the Kennedy book.

Setback for Shriver

Officials in Peoria County, Ill., have dealt Sargent Shriver & Co. a stunning setback, rejecting a proposal to participate in the Administration's "War On Poverty." The 25-to-12 vote of the County Board of Supervisors came despite pleas not to pass up what backers called "the easiest money" around.

In October, the board had unanimously approved a resolution to appoint 16 members to a 50-man Peoria County Committee for Economic Opportunity which was to receive a $47,000 grant to hire a staff to submit projects for federal anti-poverty funds.

On December 16, however, the board reversed itself and withdrew from the project. The board was greatly influenced by Zack Monroe, who is superviser of general assistance for the city and who reported that the city was in excellent economic health.

"There are only 302 families on relief in the township [of 137,000 people]. In 1958 there were 2,800. This is the most prosperous community in the United States. There's plenty of opportunity for people who want to work but somehow have no motivation or desire."

Many supervisors, noting that the booming community has a rock-bottom rate of unemployment of 1.8 per cent, spoke out against the measure. They said existing local agencies were adequately coping with the problems of poverty.

Other members of the board said they changed their minds and turned against the proposal when they found out that once the anti-poverty committee was

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set up it would have to commit increasingly large amounts of local funds to the project.

Elsewhere on the poverty front:

• Officials in several Indiana counties have informed the Office of Economic Opportunity they do not need federal anti-poverty funds. A survey by the Indianapolis *News* of seven nearby counties shows that five want no part of the federal assistance. A sixth county says it has not even considered the project, and of the seven, only one has shown an interest in the federal "War on Poverty."

• Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) believes the anti-poverty drive in his state has been a hoax. "Of the $418,000 allotted for a 'War on Poverty' project in Indianapolis," he says, "roughly three-fourths will go for salaries of the program administrators."

• The director of the federal government's Appalachian Regional Commission, John L. Sweeney, recently charged that the Office of Economic Opportunity was actually fostering poverty in the Appalachian region through short-sighted, self-defeating anti-poverty projects. "Unless something is done, we are just wasting the taxpayer's money . . . spending a billion dollars here and a billion dollars there on conflicting goals," Sweeney said in an interview published in the *National Observer*.

• A story leaked recently in the Washington *Post* said Shriver's office has under consideration a massive public spending program that would more than double the current $1.5-billion "War on Poverty" outlay. Many of those hired under the program, the story indicated, would play roles in Lady Bird's "beautification" campaign. The program would represent an extension of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, in which young people are given part-time "human service" jobs, according to the *Post*.

Lindsay's White House Plans

"Mayor-elect John V. Lindsay and his ambitious crew last week stepped up John's drive for the White House by launching a Lindsay satellite into orbit—City Councilman Theodore R. Kupferman."

So reports the veteran New York *Daily News* political columnist Edward O'Neil in commenting on Lindsay's decision to run Kupferman for the House seat the mayor-elect must vacate January 1.

A special election will be held sometime early in 1966 and Kupferman, an old hand in the Lindsay camp, is virtually assured the GOP nomination in the 17th Congressional District. Kupferman, an ultra-liberal "non-partisan" Republican in the Lindsay-Javits mold, is a law partner of Robert Price, Lindsay's political mentor.

New York newsmen agree that Lindsay covets the White House. Writes O'Neil:

"Kupferman actually represents point two in the Lindsay drive for national position. Point one was Lindsay's winning the mayoralty. Point two is the proving of ability to transfer popularity to others. The aim of point three, Gov. Rockefeller notwithstanding, is to gain control of the GOP state delegation. The White House target date, in the view of Lindsay's advisers, is now 1972."

Kupferman's election—in a district Lindsay won by huge margins—is by no means certain. The Democrats will nominate a strong candidate in City Councilman Robert Low or Orin Lehman, nephew of the late Sen. Herbert Lehman (D.-N.Y.). But Kupferman's biggest problem is likely to come from the Conservative party, which is all but certain to run a candidate of its own.

The Democrats have a registration edge of more than 40,000 in the district and Kupferman would be damaged—perhaps fatally—by the defection of GOP regulars. The Conservative party mayoral candidate, William F. Buckley, received more than 10 per cent of the vote in the so-called "Silk Stocking" district.

Epton Found Guilty

A self-proclaimed Communist, a leader of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party, was found guilty last week for his role in the bloody Harlem riots of July 1964. A jury in New York Criminal Court found Negro William Epton guilty of conspiring to riot, of advocating the overthrow of the New York state government and of conspiring to overthrow it.

The jury, which included two Negroes, agreed that Epton had sought to bring down the state government through assassination of top state officials. Epton maintained that he had spoken in "abstract" terms when he harangued a street corner rally during the riots:

"And in that process of smashing this state, we're going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of these judges, and we'll have to go up against their Army."

A chief witness for the prosecution was Adolph Hart, a Negro detective, who infiltrated Epton's group at police instruction. Hart testified that Epton had organized terrorist bands of radical leftists throughout Harlem and that when the rioting broke out the night of July 18, Epton and other Progressive Labor party functionaries were turning out inflammatory literature.

The literature included a poster, "Wanted for Murder," referring to a police officer, Lt. Thomas Gilligan, who had shot and killed a Negro teenager in the line of duty. This poster helped trigger the two-day Harlem outbreak.

State Supreme Court Justice Arthur Markewich revoked Epton's $10,000 bail after the verdict was returned, asserting the jury had characterized him a "dangerous man." Markewich ordered Epton returned to jail for sentencing January 27. He faces 12 years in prison and fines totaling $6,000.

'A Deadly Cause'

The second-in-command of the Federal Bureau of Investigation last week assailed "arrogant-non-conformists" and characterized street demonstrators as a national disgrace. In a Chicago speech, C.D. DeLoach lashed out at the practitioners of "civil disobedience" and linked their actions with soaring crime rates.

"Throughout this great land of ours today, growing numbers of citizens—racketeers, Communists, narcotics peddlers, filth merchants and others of their ilk—hold themselves above the law," DeLoach said. "They represent a deadly cause—a cause which ironically is not only served but actually encouraged by expanding legions of victims.

"Look, for example, at the 'celebrity status' which has often been accorded those morally and emotionally immature misfits who have cast a shadow of disgrace across the streets of many American communities and the campuses of some of our educational institutions."

DeLoach said that he referred to the "lawless demonstrators, the draft card burners, the raucous exalters of the four-letter word. I refer to the arrogant non-conformists, including some so-called educators, who have mounted the platform at public gatherings to urge 'civil disobedience' and defiance of authority. And I refer also to those members of the self-proclaimed 'smart set' who consider it a sign of 'sophistication' to ridicule decency, patriotism, respectability and duty."

Wirtz' Inflation

Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.) charged last week that Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz set off a dizzying round of inflation when he cancelled the so-called bracero program under which foreign nationals were permitted to enter the United States to work the fields at harvest time.

Murphy delivered his indictment after Wirtz marshalled figures to show that the substitution of domestic workers for foreign nationals had a beneficial effect on the national economy. Murphy pulled no punches, asserting that Wirtz had "misrepresented the facts and drawn misleading and unwarranted conclusions."

Wirtz had claimed that domestic farm employment was up by more than 20,000, thanks to cancellation of the bracero program. Murphy replied that Wirtz was playing fast and loose with the facts, adding that total agricultural employment in California alone was down 41,000 in the last year.

"Mr. Wirtz' recent statements have completely misrepresented what has happened to agriculture this past year," Murphy charged. "He has purposely overlooked the serious losses of crops suffered by our farmers, the thousands of acres of vegetables never planted, the increase in production costs, the exodus of many farmers seeking new locations in Mexico, and the increase in wholesale and retail prices."

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Rep. Bob Wilson (R.-Calif.) has called on President Johnson to "enlist the best legal minds in the U.S. government" to draft new legislation to control the Communist Party, U.S.A. Wilson, chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, spoke out after the Supreme Court struck down provisions of the Subversive Activities Control Act requiring Communists to register with the government. "I am sure it must be demoralizing for American soldiers risking their lives to fight communism in Viet Nam to learn that Communists at home are freed from restrictions to even register with our government," he said.

WILSON

• *Radical leftists again threaten to topple the government of the Dominican Republic. Pro-Castro labor leaders have promised a crippling "general strike" unless the government fires anti-Communist military commanders and forces U.S. troops to leave the country. Leftist mobs have swarmed through the streets of Santo Domingo and Santiago in demonstrations against "Yanqui imperialism" in recent days. Experts say that Castro agents have played a key role in these upheavals.*

• House Republican leader Gerald Ford reports the GOP will push for a Hoover-type commission to study waste and inefficiency in the executive branch of the government. He said there were at least 252 welfare programs now operating in the federal government, many of them overlapping, and commented: "The rush to enact many of these programs into law has resulted in utter confusion. The Administration, for example, is unable to give any estimate of the number of new employes it will take to implement the programs enacted in 1965. The executive branch of the federal government has become the dark continent of American politics."

FORD

• *The national anti-draft campaign planned by the Students for a Democratic Society, the largest of the student groups in the so-called "new left," has been voted down by the organization's membership, but Paul Booth, national SDS secretary, says many chapters are still willing to carry on the campaign at the local level.*

• Even liberal Rep. Henry Reuss (D.-Wis.) is concerned about some foreign aid boondoggles. Reuss last week disclosed that the United States is paying foreign scientists $70 million to conduct research into such projects as the smells of ocean fish and the perspiration problems of Australian aborigines. Reuss said the projects could not be justified from any standpoint: "Why can't we cut support of foreign scientists, especially in prosperous countries in western Europe and in Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand? Not one dollar of federal research money should be spent abroad unless very exceptional justification can be offered."

REUSS

• *Ensign Roger Staubach, who dazzled fans with his quarterbacking of the Naval Academy football team two years ago, wants to deliver anti-Communist speeches to young people across the country and needs only Navy Department approval. Staubach discussed his plans last week with J. Edgar Hoover and gained the FBI director's hearty approval.*

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Men of the First Infantry Division in Viet Nam say "thanks" for Christmas presents sent to them by citizens at home.

U.S. Viet Forces Face Almost Impossible Combat Conditions

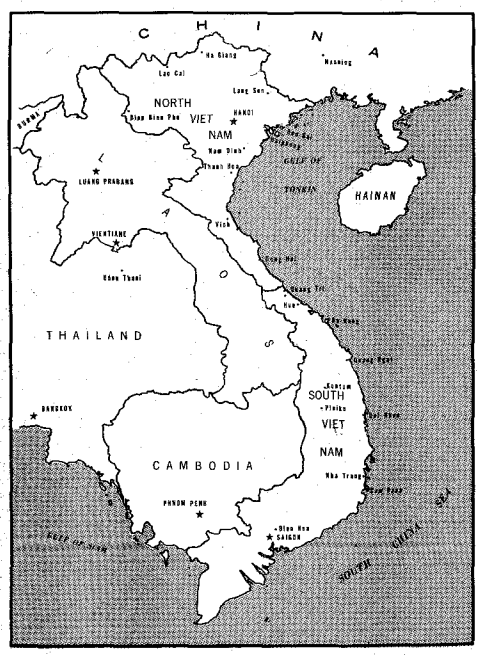
By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

A very common misconception about the war in Viet Nam is that the front line is along the border between North Viet Nam and the south. If this were true and Cambodia and Laos were neutral, the pacification of Viet Nam south of the 17th parallel would be easy. In reality, things are quite different.

In this war, the front line runs along the western border of South Viet Nam, facing Cambodia and Laos. Our line of communications runs from our coastal bases back to the United States, with our forces occupying a narrow coastal plain with their backs to the sea; in some sectors we hold a depth of 30 miles to the Laotian border. There can be no doubt that Soviet strategists see this as a perfect setting for another Dunkirk.

You have read that areas once pacified by our forces have been subsequently reoccupied by the enemy. You have read about repeated ambushes and have wondered why our forces are so often surprised. That is the kind of a war we are fighting.

When the enemy can in one or two night marches move from his secure sanctuary across the border into almost any part of the area you are defending, it becomes almost impossible to have any firm intelligence of his whereabouts. You may have nothing before you this evening and be attacked by a full regiment the following morning. The enemy has every opportunity to concentrate superior forces against you in a surprise assault, then withdraw to his sanctuary for rest and recuperation.



Southeast Asia and Viet Nam

It is impossible under these conditions for our forces to occupy all of South Viet Nam in sufficient strength to protect it. We couldn't do this if we had one million men in that troubled country. Therefore, the people of South Viet Nam, knowing the Viet Cong will return, cannot commit themselves to the support of anti-Communist forces. They must respect the Viet Cong terror until they are protected from it.

It must be apparent to every American that these are intolerable conditions of warfare. Never before in history has any army been so hobbled and sacrificed as are our forces in South Viet Nam today. When President Truman allowed the Chinese Communist aggressors sanctuary in Manchuria, our forces in Korea had to withdraw some 200 miles so that our air power could be used effectively against the enemy lines of communications behind the battlefield. In Southeast Asia we have our backs to the sea and cannot withdraw; our men must stand there and take the punishment.

President Johnson must end this frightful handicap at once; with such advantages as he now allows them, the Communists will *never* come to the conference table.

Our ground and air forces must be free to attack and destroy enemy forces and bases in Cambodia and Laos, to carry the war away from South Viet Nam and into the enemy territory. Only then can we provide security for South Viet Nam. Only then can its people organize effective defenses against internal subversion and terror. Only then can our troops use effectively the great superiority of their weapons, reduce our casualty rates and win the war.

The fundamental truth is that neither North Viet Nam nor Communist China can fight our kind of war. We can destroy their war-making capacity with very small losses to our side if we use our superiority effectively.

In Southeast Asia we have been fighting *their* kind of war. Our leaders have apparently been so deceived by the Soviet peace offensive that they have accepted the very conditions of warfare which assure Communist success. The price of this illusion is paid for in blood.

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Do Missing Turncoats Still Have Red Ties?

From the Allen-Scott Report

Federal authorities are conducting a worldwide search to ascertain the whereabouts of nine of the 21 former U.S. prisoners of war who defected to Red China in the Korean War.

Although the Central Intelligence Agency and the Justice Department have been able over the years to keep close tabs on 12 of these former turncoats, the others have mysteriously disappeared.

The missing defectors include four of the 14 who returned to the United States after living for a number of years in Communist China. Federal officials haven't been able to locate the four during the past several years.

The other one-time prisoners of war include six who never returned to the United States. Five of them are believed to be living behind the Bamboo and Iron Curtains. The sixth was last spotted in Belgium; another is known to have died in Communist China.

According to information compiled by government investigative agencies, the four missing turncoats being tracked in the United States and the latest information regarding them are as follows:

"Sgt. Richard G. Corden, of Chicago, Ill., arrived in San Francisco on Jan. 19, 1959. He lived in Milwaukee in 1961; Chicago in 1962. Present employment and residence unknown.

"Cpl. Andrew Fortuna, of Greenup, Ky., returned to U.S. July 3, 1957. Worked as laborer at Portsmouth, Ohio, in 1958; Detroit, 1963-64; and Chicago, March 1964. Last reported as of August 1964 to be at Salvation Army Center, 1401 Madison Street, Gary, Ind.

Pfc. Otto Grayson Bell, formerly of East Olympia, Wash.; last reported working as handyman in Olympia in December 1964. He returned from Communist China in July 1955.

Cpl. Aaron P. Wilson, of Urania, La., returned to the U.S. on Dec. 6, 1956. As of May 1964, Wilson reportedly was employed in New Orleans. His recent location and work not known."

U.S. authorities have a good idea where the other 10 returned defectors are living and working, although some of their activities could be deemed mysterious.

For example: Pfc. Morris P. Willis, Fort Ann, N.Y., most recently returned turncoat, is working on an article on life in Red China for a national magazine. The publishers are keeping Willis in close seclusion.

Intelligence authorities charged with the surveillance of the six defectors who have not returned to the United States are having great difficulty keeping track of them.

Cpl. Howard G. Adams, Corsincana, Tex.; Pfc. James G. Veneria, Vandergrift, Pa.; and Pfc. Clarence C. Adams, Washington, D.C., are believed to be still in Communist China. But CIA has no "hard information" on them since 1963.

Pfc. Adams is listed in intelligence files as a student at Wu Han University, Wu Han, China, in 1957; Cpl. Adams, working in Shantung Paper Mill, Tsinan, in 1960; and Pfc. Veneria as "somewhere in Communist China in January 1963."

Cpl. John R. Dunn, a former potato chip salesman from Altoona, Pa., was reported to have left China in December 1959 for Zilina, Czechoslovakia. Cpl. Harold Webb, of Jacksonville, Fla., was residing in Katowice, Poland, in January 1964. Although it is known he married a Polish girl and worked as an English tutor in Katowice, his present whereabouts are unknown.

Cpl. Albert Constant Belhomme, who worked in a paper mill in Tsinan, China, after defecting, was traced to Antwerp, Belgium, in November 1963, where U.S. authorities lost his trail.

Rep. Michael Feighan, [D.-O.], chairman of the House Immigration Investigating subcommittee, is planning a full-scale inquiry of State and Defense Department handling of these turncoats. He wants to determine why the returned defectors have not been prosecuted, and whether they have ties with the Communists.

Feighan will interrogate Justice Department authorities on whether legislation is needed to require returned defectors to register with federal officials.

"One Oswald in the history of our country is far too many if we are to survive as the defender of the free world," says Feighan. "Another Oswald could shake the world's confidence in our system of government."

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Wheat Stockpiles

By REP. PAUL FINDLEY (R.-Ill.)

Just recently, the aluminum and copper industries found out what farmers have known for years; that is, that government stockpiles can be readily used to drive down market prices. Government stockpiles, to me, constitute a dangerous and ever present threat to the well-being of the American farmer.

The very plain and clear policy of the present Administration is to keep grain market prices down and government stockpiles give them the means to get the job done. This, of course, is part of the carrot and stick program of the Administration.

The carrot being the direct payments to the farmers who sign up and abide by government rules. The stick being the use of government stockpiles to drive market prices down.

The only safe and sure way to break the stranglehold and to open the way for farmers to bargain effectively at the marketplace is to get the federal government completely out of the grain business—period.

□ □ □

NO-PARTY COALITION—Columnist William S. White says the Republican party has no reason to cheer John Lindsay's win in New York. "Mr. Lindsay's is actually the triumph of a basically no-party coalition ideologically dominated by the far-out splinter Liberal party and even more alien to Republicanism as the country generally understands Republicanism than is the Democratic party itself."

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Big Labor Hopes to Unionize Financial and Insurance Employes

Unions' multi-billion-dollar welfare and pension funds would be used as bargaining weapon

By VICTOR RIESEL

San Francisco:—Here, when they say you can't tell the labor leaders from the bankers in the lobbies and even on the convention floor, they are not referring to the scores of union chiefs who draw from $50,000 to $70,000 to $100,000 a year in "wages."

This reverent reference is to the labor men who control upward of $25 billion in central union treasuries, revolving welfare funds and pension pools. And to the bankers and brokerage house supersalesmen and savings and loans executives who compete for labor's investment business.

It's quite a business running into billions a year—monies which could become powerful bargaining and political weapons.

The power is reflected in the report here disclosing that some $5 billion a year pour into pension funds which pay out slowly; and some $14 billion a year go into union welfare and hospitalization pools which empty swiftly but which maintain a hefty daily balance in hundreds of banks and with scores of insurance companies.

Though it went unreported and unnoticed by many rank-and-file delegates, a move was launched during the closing days of the convention to harness this awesome concentration of money and use it to unionize insurance companies, banks, stock markets and financial houses.

Oddly, the first public mention of the move came during a floor discussion of the union label. The full meaning of this laborite Fort Knox was first analyzed formally by William A. Gillen, president of the Insurance Workers International Union. Taking to the microphone, he urged the other 900 union chiefs to understand fully the vast power they now have in the financial markets.

He asserted that big insurance companies could easily be toppled if unions controlling the placement of billions of dollars in mass insurance would in effect boycott those companies which did not cooperate in efforts to unionize their employes.

"Those of us who are really just getting under way," shouted Gillen, "at organizing large, rich, unorganized industries cannot today use the dramatic tools of our predecessors—the 'sit-ins' of the 30s, or the incredibly courageous, bloody strikes of an earlier day. So we must devise new ways of getting the job done, and one of these is that AFL-CIO unions follow with unanimity and sincerity the time-honored union principle of 'Buy Union.'

"We can do the job of organizing industries, but we must have the pressure of a full-scale 'Buy Union' campaign to do the job. If we have it, our affiliates will be able to organize groups which they might otherwise not have thought possible—dental technicians, for example, making dentures under union-negotiated health [welfare] plans."

Gillen argued that the shifting of billions of dollars or the threat to withdraw the money or the actual boycott of companies could accomplish almost automatic unionization in the white-collar new frontier. Gillen was loudly applauded.

This could easily be done. The labor leader often is the chief fiduciary officer of his union. Some control central funds totaling half a million dollars in pools owned by the union itself. Others have the decisive voice in the investment of several billion dollars' worth of pension funds. Some premiums on group insurance run as high as half a billion dollars a year.

In addition, the AFL-CIO has an Investment Department advising those unions who come to it—and thus can direct the investments of hundreds of labor organizations. In turn this department has created a mortgage trust with a $50-million captalization.

If this power is coordinated and harnessed, it will be able to exert tremendous influence on the "Wall Street" so frequently denounced in hyperthyroid labor literature.

During the convention some of the specialists in the world of money also outlined the political value of heavy cash deposits. One labor leader told of forcing a big Eastern bank to cease supporting the Taft-Hartley 14b clause and end the editorializing in the bank's monthly letter in support of anti-union shop laws.

A Western labor man spoke of efforts to force one bank from participating in a joint lobbying effort. Bank officials were told that the local labor men would withdraw their funds if the bank did not withdraw its lobbyist and cease its financial backing of other business lobbyists in the state capital.

Money may be the root of many things, but the labor people plan to make it the root of organizing drives in many new and fertile areas of the space age.

(Distributed 1965 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

W.E.B. DuBois Clubs' Secretary

Speaking Schedule Keeps Mike Myerson Busy

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

"The Johnsons, the Bundys, the McNamaras have lost China to the Chinese, Cuba to the Cubans, Africa to the Africans, and are losing Viet Nam to the Vietnamese. Someday they may even lose America to the people of this country."

These words were greeted with thunderous applause by a crowd of 500 one night in New York City. They were delivered by Mike Myerson, a 25-year-old Californian who recently visited North Viet Nam in flagrant violation of U.S. law.

Myerson, a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley, returned from Hanoi in mid-September and has since criss-crossed the country denouncing American "barbarism" and demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Viet Nam.

In a recent week, Myerson traveled from Honolulu to Vancouver, British Columbia, to Washington to Baltimore to New York to Boston. He addressed groups large and small, appeared on radio and television, granted newspaper interviews, all the while skillfully imparting the Communist party line.

That is hardly surprising, for Myerson is international secretary of the Communist-controlled W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America.

Myerson wears on his right hand a ring, a gift from the "heroic people" of North Viet Nam. It is made from the scraps of an American plane that was blasted from the skies by a Soviet-built missile, he reports with a grin.

Myerson tells his audiences that American soldiers have slaughtered thousands of innocent civilians, that American planes have bombed hospitals and schools, that American officials are "colonialist oppressors." He brushes aside as "reactionary propaganda" atrocities by the Viet Cong and the fact that more than a million North Vietnamese have risked their lives to flee Ho Chi Minh's police state.

Myerson traveled to the Orient with two other Americans, a leftist newsman, Christopher Koch, and Harold Supriano, a self-styled social worker who is active in the Communist youth movement on the West Coast.

* * *

Federal urban renewal planners will spend $675 million in the coming year to raze "slums" and revitalize the American city.

But precious little thought will be given the families uprooted and the merchants crushed in the process. Federal officials have callously ignored definitive studies that show the multi-billion-dollar urban renewal program to be a cruel hoax on city dwellers.

The House District of Columbia Committee has conducted an extensive probe of the urban renewal program in the nation's capital. They received the following testimony from a veteran social worker, Mary C. Cavanagh:

"I have done social work in this country and in Europe, both in peace time and in war time, and I have never seen such misery, injustice and hardship inflicted on a population by its own government. I really believe that if Gen. MacArthur's command had inflicted this much hardship on a conquered enemy in Japan, there would have been an immediate outcry from all over the civilized world."

The following cases, assembled by Miss Cavanagh, are all too typical of urban renewal abuses throughout the country:

• Two elderly sisters owned and operated a rooming house that urban renewal planners marked for condemnation. The roomers were notified by the Redevelopment Land Agency to leave the house, thus depriving the sisters of income. The sisters were permitted to stay at their home, pending relocation, paying rent to the RLA. When the heating system failed, the RLA refused to make repairs. Shortly thereafter the water pipes froze and flooded the premises. One of the sisters fell ill and died in the unheated house. The other sister was relocated by the government in a tenement overrun by rats.

• A Negro family of 12 was notified by the RLA that its home would be taken over by the government. They were informed they could be relocated only if they would give away two of their children. Fortunately, the family was able to find housing facilities of its own but was forced to move from Washington.

• A pregnant mother was evicted with her six children on a cold, snowy day. The mother slept that night in an old car and the children in a shed. A young woman evicted by the federal planners took refuge in an abandoned building. She died 24 hours later.

• The establishment of an aging merchant was seized by the RLA. The man was crestfallen, confiding to associates that he did not see how he could go on without his job of 45 years. In less than a month he was dead.

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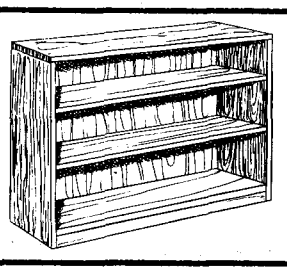
BOOK CASES



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The Rhodesian Affair

Some Embarrassing Questions For Prime Minister Wilson

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The prime minister of England marched into the rotunda of the British Embassy a little before 6 p.m. on December 17th with a small safari of briefcase bearers striding along behind him. He had come to meet the press; and the press had Rhodesia on its mind.

"Since the beginning of the Rhodesian crisis a month ago," the first questioner recalled, "the U.S. government has cooperated fully with you in the imposition of economic sanctions against Rhodesia. What would be your position, sir, on a reconsideration of Britain's willingness to ship buses and other British commodities to Communist Cuba?"

Above his red tie, the prime minister's face turned a little pink; his cold blue eyes frosted over. It was a strawberry parfait effect.

"There is no parallel," snapped the prime minister of England. The Smith government, he explained, is an "illegal" government. It is a part of the British Commonwealth in a way that Cuba was never a part of the United States. He could find nothing analogous in the two situations.

It was not the time or place for a newspaperman to argue with the operating head of her majesty's government. Yet if the occasion had permitted, it would have been a fascinating business to pursue the matter with Mr. Wilson. For the longer the Rhodesian story continues, the more it emphasizes the double or triple or quadruple standards of political morality that prevail among the nations of the world.

Consider, if you please, the matter of Cuba. It is passing strange, merely to touch upon one point, that Mr. Wilson should have chosen to disprove a parallel by first emphasizing the "illegal" nature of the Smith regime. One has difficulty in recalling when Fidel Castro was elected to anything.

Nor is one especially impressed by Mr. Wilson's denunciation (in his speech to Commons on December 10) of the "police state methods" instituted by Mr. Smith at Salisbury. No measures taken in Rhodesia since November 11 could compare with the oppressions and confiscations imposed by Castro in Cuba.

Yet there is much more. It was the official position of our own government, long before that historic October of 1962, that Castro's Cuba presented a formidable threat to international security. As far back as May of 1961, the House voted 401-2 to declare Cuba "a base and staging area for Communist subversion throughout the hemisphere." In the spring of 1962, Mr. Kennedy proclaimed a renewed embargo on U.S. trade with Cuba, and called upon our NATO allies to support our position.

Our good friends in England could not have cared less about assisting the United States in the enforcement of sanctions thought vital to American interests. Over the first eight months of 1962, 432 non-Communist ships carried Communist cargoes to Cuba; the Greeks were first, with 97 of these; the British ranked second, with 77.

In the fall of 1962 came the great confrontation, when the missiles were discovered and the world held its breath. Mr. Kennedy once more begged the British to clamp down on trade with Castro. On Oct. 11, 1962, British shipowners voted unanimously to refuse. "What is deeply disturbing about American opinion on Cuba," said the British owners, "as on so many subjects where communism is concerned, is a kind of total blindness, a refusal to consider another point of view." The shipowners admonished us to understand that "coexistence with a pro-Communist Cuba is not immoral, but a mark of sanity."

Throughout this period, British tankers carried oil to Cuba. Canada sold wheat to Cuba by the millions of bushels. In the summer of 1963, Mr. Kennedy asked Britain to ban trade and travel to Cuba; Britain refused. In February of 1964, the effects of continued British trade with Castro were so serious that the United States temporarily suspended military aid to Britain as a mark of displeasure. Britain was not impressed.

I THOUGHT YOU MIGHT BE TRYING TO SLIP SUPPLIES INTO RHODESIA
TRADE WITH WARRING REDS IN ASIA
SANCTIONS
WESTERN NATIONS
REG MANNING

Okay, You May Pass

Courtesy Arizona *Republic*

But hi, ho, parallels run awry. The U.S. government supports Britain's sanctions against Rhodesia to the hilt: Private contracts cancelled. Export restrictions imposed. Funds frozen. And now, as the prime minister told the press conference, it is anticipated that U.S. planes will assist in an airlift of oil to Zambia.

The sole ambition of Ian Smith appears to be to cling to an island of Western stability in a flood of African nationalism. It would not seem an unworthy ambition. But our government will join the gang in seeking to pull him loose. We will "crush" him; we will "bring him to heel." And meanwhile, our good friends of the West continue to trade not only with Castro in Cuba but also with Ho Chi Minh in North Viet Nam. In the world of presidents and prime ministers, one concludes, the theorems of geometry seldom apply; and parallel lines proceed elliptically instead.

(Copyright 1965, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

England's Prime Minister Harold Wilson can find nothing wrong with trading with Cuba.

Negro Leaders Want Weaver

Whom Will LBJ Name to Head Urban Affairs Dept.?

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

It would be difficult to find a precedent on the national political level for the type of campaign certain Negro leaders are conducting to have Robert C. Weaver selected as the nation's first secretary of housing and urban development.

The late President Kennedy let it be publicly known that, were the new Cabinet post created while he was in office, Weaver would fill it. But that post was not created until the 89th Congress this year, and President Lyndon Johnson had made no such commitment.

What is under way now is a campaign by influential Negroes to pressure Johnson into naming Weaver, who already holds the post of administrator of the federal Housing and Home Finance Agency and is currently the highest-ranking Negro in the federal government.

The campaign opened when Weaver himself called a press conference and before some startled reporters announced his availability and eagerness for the post and dwelled at some length upon his own qualifications.

Robert Weaver now is administrator of the Federal Housing and Home Financing Agency.

To many seasoned observers, Weaver's astonishing press conference to pressure his own boss into promoting him, had finished his chances for the Cabinet post and perhaps his career under Lyndon Johnson as well.

But that was only the start. Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, the heads of the NAACP and the National Urban League, respectively, suggested that Negroes were counting heavily upon Weaver's appointment; that failure to name him would be considered a personal affront to the Negro community, which might well reverberate in the 1966 and 1968 elections.

Later, Wilkins backed away from his badly disguised threat to the President of the United States. Nevertheless, the desired effect has been created.

Wilkins and Young have all but told the American Negro community to consider the Weaver appointment as a pro- or anti-Negro decision by the President of the United States.

While this is highly unfair to Mr. Johnson, we do not deny that it places him in something of a sticky wicket. It is no secret that the Negro vote is a pillar of Mr. Johnson's party.

It will be interesting to see how Lyndon reacts to this type of "crunch," and to determine if the Negro leaders have pulled off a political master stroke or—torpedoed Mr. Weaver right out of the Administration.

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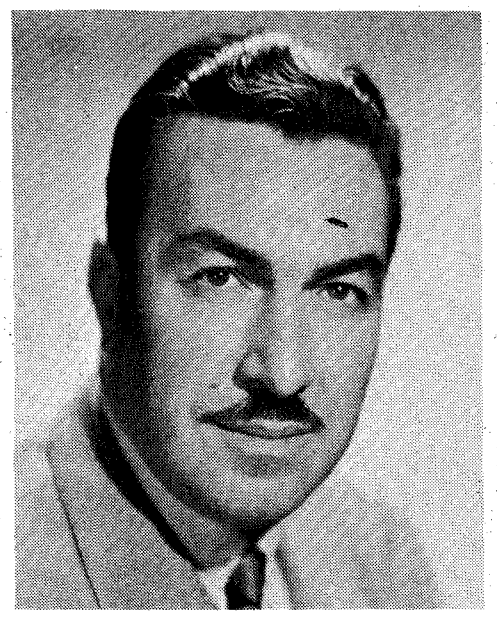
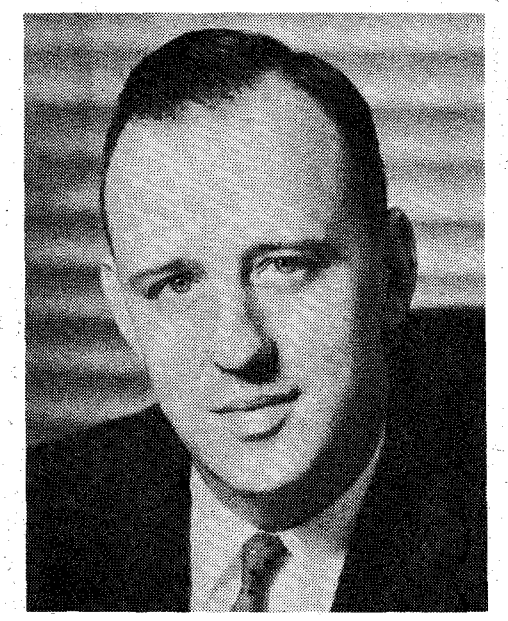
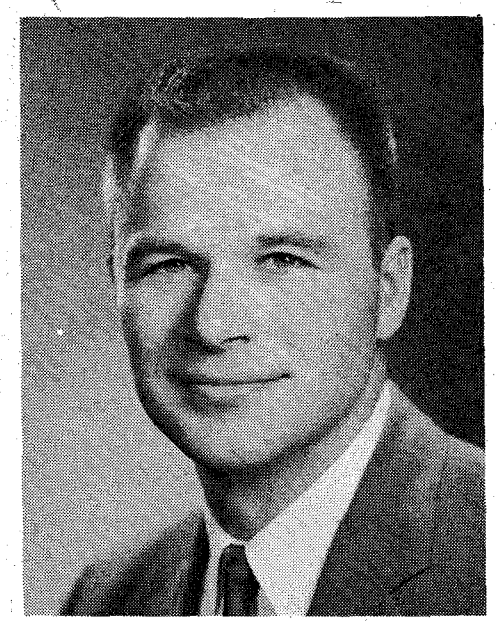


Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.), probe subcommittee chairman, isn't talking.



Rep. Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.) hasn't seen any of the required monthly reports.



Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) doubts there will ever be any hearings.

What Did $213,000 Buy?

Poverty Program Inquiry Said to Be Nearly Broke

From the Allen-Scott Report

The House of Representatives is in for an intriguing surprise on that long-promised investigation of the widely controversial $1.5-billion anti-poverty program.

Although months have elapsed without hearings, reports of any kind, or any other developments, the inside word is that the probe is just about out of money.

Of the $230,000 appropriated for this once-much-touted inquiry, of which $100,000 was hurriedly voted by the House just before it adjourned, only $17,000 reportedly is still in the till. How and where the other $213,000 was spent is the big question.

Members of the Education and Labor Committee and its subcommittee which is supposed to be conducting this investigation are frankly baffled and say they don't know.

And Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.), grandiloquent chairman of the Education and Labor Committee and boss of the subcommittee, isn't talking.

Neither is the Administration Committee, which has the responsibility of keeping a check on subcommittee spending. House rules require that investigating subcommittees file monthly reports on outlays and activities, as follows:

"(a) Progress of the specific studies and investigations for which funds were approved; (b) expenditure of funds for travel; (c) funds expended for salaries; and (d) the projected program for the following month."

Inquiry at the committee was met with a curt brush-off. Snapped the clerk, "Reports from committees are not public information."

"Why not?"

"Because it is committee policy," retorted the clerk, "not to give out such information."

House rules also require that every member of the Administration Committee get a copy of these monthly reports. But Rep. Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.), member of both this committee and the Education and Labor Committee, has seen none.

A staff member of the investigating subcommittee frankly admitted there have been no reports.

"We haven't submitted any," said the employe. "We are so pressed for time that we haven't done them. In October we started one, but didn't have time to finish it. Last month nothing at all was done, and the same is true this month. Don't let the boss [Powell] know I told you this, or I'll get fired."

Several weeks ago four staff members were abruptly dropped from the committee rolls.

This much has been ascertained regarding the investigating subcommittee's finances:

Of its original $230,000, $124,000 was earmarked for salaries. The other $106,000 was to cover per diem, travel costs and expenses for public and private hearings.

Payroll records filed with the House clerk show that 21 are on the subcommittee's payroll at salaries ranging from $6,000 to $18,000. These records also reveal that less than three months' salaries have actually been paid out. But even for the entire six months of the authorized duration of this anti-poverty probe, total payroll expenditure would come to only $97,800.

That is $26,200 short of the salary budget.

The story is the same on the $106,000 allocated for travel and hearing expenses. Of the 33 cities Powell claims his investigators have visited, in only three did they spend more than two days.

"Even if four investigators had spent three days in every one of the 33 cities," says a subcommittee member, "per diem costs at $16 a day per man would add up to only $6,336. That leaves $100,000 for travel costs. Our investigators haven't done that much traveling.

"A lot of people can travel a long way for a long time on $100,000, particularly when staff personnel are limited to riding tourist class. It just doesn't add up."

Republican members of the committee are prepared to demand a full public accounting of the funds when the House reconvenes.

Powell has dropped broad hints he will ask for more money, on the ground the probe is far from finished and much more digging should be done. The challenging committeemen readily agree much more apparently needs to be done. In their opinion, nothing of any consequence has happened so far.

Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.), member of the investigating subcommittee, caustically characterizes its operations as a flop. He also bluntly doubts there ever will be any hearings.

Rep. Goodell is equally critical. He says, "The probe has been very disappointing. Nothing has been done in depth. It's all surface scratching."

Rep. Sam Gibbons (D.-Fla.), junior member of the Education and Labor Committee whom Powell handpicked to head the investigating subcommittee, still insists hearings will take place after Congress reconvenes January 10. But beyond that he is extremely vague.

When and where the hearings will be held; whether they will be public or private; who will be interrogated and about what; and what cities will be investigated are carefully sidestepped by Gibbons.

If he knows, he isn't talking. And the chances are strong he doesn't know.

Powell, not Gibbons, is running the committee with a tight grip.

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Goldwater Answers Shriver on SDS

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Sargent Shriver, commander of Lyndon Johnson's poverty war as well as the Peace Corps, has just fired a grim warning shot across my bow, describing the facts of one of my columns as being untrue. I return the fire and the compliment.

Here is Shriver's complaint as contained in a telegram to me:

"Your column of Sunday, November 14 . . . has just come to my attention. I was shocked to read the charge that the 'Peace Corps has just proposed a formal link with one of the most hot-headed political protest groups in the land, the Students for a Democratic Society.' Nothing could be further from the truth.

"We have proposed no formal link of any kind with this organization or its membership. To make our position extremely clear, I am sending air mail special delivery a copy of a recent press release which illustrates the policy of our organization. Before you or your staff make such charges in the future I do think we should have the opportunity to tell you the facts."

Fortunately I do not have to comment on Shriver's complaint personally. The facts, for which he shows such an extreme regard, make their own comment, and I present them herewith as an answer.

Since Shriver would scarcely accept any statement of mine as factual, I quote from a source which, I presume, he will find satisfactory, the news columns of the New York *Times*. The following appeared in that paper on the first of November, this year:

"Peace Corps officials, who are trying to attract more politically motivated volunteers, are asking student activists for advice on recruiting and training techniques.

"The officials are known to be deeply concerned with the high number of 'bland' volunteers who do not grasp the potential of such projects as community development—a program used primarily in Latin America to improve, sometimes create, the social and economic organization of a village. . . .

"Student activists may be asked to work for a time in community-organizing projects, such as those run by the Students for a Democratic Society in Newark and Chicago, according to Frank Mankiewicz, Latin-American regional director of the corps.

" 'The things SDS has done in Newark are valuable for our volunteers to be exposed to,' he said. 'We want to take advantage of their experience.'

"The society is a national organization of about 3,000 active members. . . . It has concentrated on organizing the poor in Northern urban areas, but also has advocated a negotiated peace in Viet Nam and helped organize public protests against American policy in the Far East.

"Paul Booth, its executive secretary, has said that he was impressed with the corps' appeal for politically minded volunteers.

"Mr. Booth, in a news conference in Washington last week, noted that

Sargent Shriver, commander-in-chief of the "War on Poverty"

the society had urged that young people be given a choice between serving the country in the military or in some other form of service. One alternative proposed was the Peace Corps."

Perhaps Shriver disagrees only as to how "formal" a link has been proposed with SDS, or is he now prepared to disavow the statement attributed to his Latin-American director?

Unfortunately, and perhaps due to the high-powered efficiency of the post office under its new boss, the air mail special delivery press release which apparently explains the Peace Corps' "official" position on such groups as SDS had not arrived when I wrote this column. Rest assured, however, that as soon as it finds its way to my mailbox I will share its comments with you.

Meantime, instead of complaining so loudly about columnists, Shriver might do well to put his own house in order.

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Roster of the 89th Congress—2nd Session

Congress convenes on January 10. This listing, including the full name of each member, will be valuable throughout the session for those readers who wish to write to congressmen. REPUBLICAN names are in capital letters. An * denotes senators whose terms expire in 1967.

SENATE (68 Democrats, 32 Republicans)

Alabama
Lister Hill
John J. Sparkman *

Alaska
E.L. Bartlett *
Ernest Gruening

Arizona
Carl Hayden
PAUL FANNIN

Arkansas
John L. McClellan *
J.W. Fulbright

California
THOMAS H. KUCHEL
GEORGE MURPHY

Colorado
GORDON ALLOTT *
PETER DOMINICK

Connecticut
Thomas J. Dodd
Abraham Ribicoff

Delaware
JOHN J. WILLIAMS
J. CALEB BOGGS *

Florida
Spessard Holland
George A. Smathers

Georgia
Richard B. Russell *
Herman Talmadge

Hawaii
HIRAM L. FONG
Daniel K. Inouye

Idaho
Frank Church
LEN B. JORDAN *

Illinois
Paul Douglas *
EVERETT M. DIRKSEN

Indiana
Vance Hartke
Birch Bayh

Iowa
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER
JACK MILLER *

Kansas
FRANK CARLSON
JAMES B. PEARSON *

Kentucky
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER *
THRUSTON B. MORTON

Louisiana
Allen J. Ellender *
Russell B. Long

Maine
MARGARET CHASE SMITH *
Edmund S. Muskie

Maryland
Joseph D. Tydings
Daniel B. Brewster

Massachusetts
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL *
Edward M. Kennedy

Michigan
Pat McNamara *
Philip A. Hart

Minnesota
Eugene J. McCarthy
Walter Mondale *

Mississippi
James O. Eastland *
John C. Stennis

Missouri
Stuart Symington
Edward V. Long

Montana
Mike Mansfield
Lee Metcalf *

Nebraska
ROMAN HRUSKA
CARL T. CURTIS *

Nevada
Alan Bible
Howard W. Cannon

New Hampshire
NORRIS COTTON
Thomas J. McIntyre *

New Jersey
CLIFFORD P. CASE *
Harrison Williams Jr.

New Mexico
Clinton P. Anderson *
Joseph M. Montoya

New York
JACOB K. JAVITS
Robert F. Kennedy

North Carolina
Sam J. Ervin Jr.
B. Everett Jordan *

North Dakota
MILTON R. YOUNG
Quentin Burdick

Ohio
Frank J. Lausche
Stephen M. Young

Oklahoma
A.S. Mike Monroney
Fred Harris *

Oregon
Wayne Morse
Maurine Neuberger *

Pennsylvania
Joseph S. Clark
HUGH SCOTT

Rhode Island
John O. Pastore
Claiborne Pell *

South Carolina
STROM THURMOND *
Donald S. Russell *

South Dakota
KARL E. MUNDT *
George McGovern

Tennessee
Albert Gore
Ross Bass *

Texas
Ralph W. Yarborough
JOHN G. TOWER *

Utah
WALLACE F. BENNETT
Frank E. Moss

Vermont
GEORGE D. AIKEN
WINSTON L. PROUTY

Virginia
A. Willis Robertson *
Harry F. Byrd Jr. *

Washington
Warren G. Magnuson
Henry M. Jackson

West Virginia
Jennings Randolph *
Robert C. Byrd

Wisconsin
William Proxmire
Gaylord Nelson

Wyoming
MILWARD L. SIMPSON *
Gale W. McGee

HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES (293 Democrats, 140 Republicans, 2 vacancies as of Jan. 1, 1966)

Alabama
1 W. JACK EDWARDS III
2 *WILLIAM L. DICKINSON*
3 George W. Andrews
4 GLENN ANDREWS
5 Armistead I. Selden Jr.
6 JOHN H. BUCHANAN JR.
7 JAMES D. MARTIN
8 Robert E. Jones

Alaska
AL Ralph J. Rivers

Arizona
1 JOHN J. RHODES
2 Morris K. Udall
3 George F. Senner Jr.

Arkansas
1 E.C. Gathings
2 Wilbur D. Mills
3 James W. Trimble
4 Oren Harris

California
1 DON CLAUSEN
2 Harold T. Johnson
3 John E. Moss
4 Robert L. Leggett
5 Phillip Burton
6 WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD
7 Jeffery Cohelan
8 George P. Miller
9 W. Donlon Edwards
10 CHARLES S. GUBSER
11 J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
12 BURT L. TALCOTT
13 CHARLES M. TEAGUE
14 JOHN F. BALDWIN
15 John J. McFall
16 B.F. Sisk
17 Cecil R. King
18 Harlan Hagen
19 Chet Holifield
20 H. ALLEN SMITH
21 Augustus F. Hawkins
22 James C. Corman
23 DEL CLAWSON
24 GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
25 Ronald Brooks Cameron
26 Thomas Rees
27 EDWIN REINECKE
28 ALPHONZO BELL
29 George E. Brown Jr.
30 Edward R. Roybal
31 Charles H. Wilson
32 CRAIG HOSMER
33 Kenneth W. Dyal
34 Richard T. Hanna
35 JAMES B. UTT
36 BOB WILSON
37 Lionel Van Deerlin
38 John V. Tunney

Colorado
1 Byron G. Rogers
2 Roy H. McVicker
3 Frank E. Evans
4 *Wayne N. Aspinall*

Connecticut
1 Emilio Q. Daddario
2 William L. St. Onge
3 Robert N. Giaimo
4 Donald J. Irwin
5 John S. Monagan
6 Bernard F. Grabowski

Delaware
AL Harris B. McDowell Jr.

Florida
1 Robert L. F. Sikes
2 Charles E. Bennett
3 Claude D. Pepper
4 Dante B. Fascell
5 A. Sydney Herlong Jr.
6 Paul G. Rogers
7 James A. Haley
8 D.R. (Billy) Matthews
9 Don Fuqua
10 Sam M. Gibbons
11 EDWARD J. GURNEY
12 WILLIAM C. CRAMER

Georgia
1 G. Elliott Hagan
2 Maston O'Neal
3 HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
4 James A. Mackay
5 Charles L. Weltner
6 John J. Flynt Jr.
7 John W. Davis
8 James R. Tuten
9 Phil M. Landrum
10 Robert G. Stephens Jr.

Hawaii
AL Spark M. Matsunaga
AL Patsy Mink

Idaho
1 Compton I. White Jr.
2 GEORGE V. HANSEN

Illinois
1 *William L. Dawson*
2 Barratt O'Hara
3 William T. Murphy
4 EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
5 John C. Kluczynski
6 Dan Ronan
7 Frank Annunzio
8 Daniel D. Rostenkowski
9 Sidney R. Yates
10 HAROLD R. COLLIER
11 Roman C. Pucinski
12 ROBERT MCCLORY
13 DONALD RUMSFELD
14 JOHN N. ERLENBORN
15 CHARLOTTE REID
16 JOHN B. ANDERSON
17 LESLIE C. ARENDS
18 *ROBERT H. MICHEL*
19 Gale Schisler
20 PAUL FINDLEY
21 Kenneth J. Gray
22 WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
23 George E. Shipley
24 Melvin Price

Indiana
1 Ray J. Madden
2 CHARLES A. HALLECK
3 John Brademas
4 E. ROSS ADAIR
5 J. Edward Roush
6 RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
7 WILLIAM G. BRAY
8 Winfield K. Denton
9 Lee H. Hamilton
10 RALPH HARVEY
11 Andrew Jacobs Jr.

Iowa
1 Paul Schmidhauser
2 John C. Culver
3 H. R. GROSS
4 Bert Bandstra
5 Neal Smith
6 Stanley L. Greigg
7 *John R. Hansen*

Kansas
1 BOB DOLE
2 CHESTER L. MIZE
3 ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
4 GARNER E. SHRIVER
5 JOE SKUBITZ

Kentucky
1 Frank A. Stubblefield
2 *William H. Natcher*
3 Charles P. Farnsley
4 Frank Chelf
5 TIM LEE CARTER
6 John C. Watts
7 Carl D. Perkins

Louisiana
1 F. Edward Hebert
2 Hale Boggs
3 Edwin E. Willis
4 Joe D. Waggonner Jr.
5 Otto E. Passman
6 James H. Morrison
7 Edwin W. Edwards
8 Speedy O. Long

Maine
1 STANLEY R. TUPPER
2 William D. Hathaway

Maryland
AL Carlton R. Sickles
1 ROGERS C. B. MORTON
2 Clarence D. Long
3 Edward A. Garmatz
4 George H. Fallon
5 Hervey G. Machen
6 CHARLES M. MATHIAS
7 *Samuel N. Friedel*

Massachusetts
1 SILVIO O. CONTE
2 Edward P. Boland
3 Philip J. Philbin
4 Harold D. Donohue
5 F. BRADFORD MORSE
6 WILLIAM H. BATES
7 Torbert H. MacDonald
8 Thomas P. O'Neill Jr.
9 John W. McCormack
10 JOSEPH W. MARTIN JR.
11 James A. Burke
12 HASTINGS KEITH

Michigan
1 John J. Conyers Jr.
2 Weston E. Vivian
3 Paul Todd
4 EDWARD HUTCHINSON
5 GERALD R. FORD
6 CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
7 John C. Mackie
8 JAMES HARVEY
9 ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
10 ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
11 Raymond F. Clevenger
12 James G. O'Hara
13 Charles C. Diggs Jr.
14 Lucien N. Nedzi
15 William D. Ford
16 John D. Dingell
17 Martha W. Griffiths
18 WILLIAM BROOMFIELD
19 Billie S. Farnum

Minnesota
1 ALBERT QUIE
2 ANCHER NELSEN
3 CLARK MACGREGOR
4 Joseph E. Karth
5 Donald M. Fraser
6 Alec G. Olsen
7 ODIN LANGEN
8 John A. Blatnik

Mississippi
1 Thomas G. Abernethy
2 Jamie L. Whitten
3 John Bell Williams
4 PRENTISS WALKER
5 William M. Colmer

Missouri
1 Frank M. Karsten
2 THOMAS B. CURTIS
3 Leonor K. Sullivan
4 William J. Randall
5 Richard Bolling
6 W.R. Hull Jr.
7 DURWARD G. HALL
8 Richard H. Ichord
9 William L. Hungate
10 Paul C. Jones

Montana
1 Arnold Olsen
2 JAMES F. BATTIN

Nebraska
1 Clair A. Callan
2 GLENN CUNNINGHAM
3 DAVID T. MARTIN

Nevada
AL Walter S. Baring

New Hampshire
1 J. Oliva Huot
2 JAMES C. CLEVELAND

New Jersey
1 WILLIAM T. CAHILL
2 Thomas C. McGrath Jr.
3 James J. Howard
4 Frank Thompson Jr.
5 PETER FRELINGHUYSEN JR.
6 FLORENCE P. DWYER
7 WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
8 Charles S. Joelson
9 Henry Helstocki
10 Peter W. Rodino Jr.
11 Joseph G. Minish
12 Paul J. Krebs
13 Cornelious Gallagher
14 Dominick V. Daniels
15 Edward J. Patten

New Mexico
AL Thomas G. Morris
AL E.S. (Johnny) Walker

New York
1 Otis G. Pike
2 JAMES R. GROVER JR.
3 Lester L. Wolff
4 JOHN W. WYDLER
5 Herbert Tenzer
6 SEYMOUR HALPERN
7 Joseph P. Addabbo
8 Benjamin S. Rosenthal
9 James J. Delaney
10 Emanuel Celler
11 Eugene J. Keogh
12 Edna F. Kelly
13 Abraham J. Multer
14 John J. Rooney
15 Hugh L. Carey
16 John M. Murphy
17 (vacant)
18 Adam C. Powell
19 Leonard Farbstein
20 William Fitts Ryan
21 James H. Scheuer
22 Jacob H. Gilbert
23 Jonathan B. Bingham
24 PAUL A. FINO
25 Richard L. Ottinger
26 OGDEN R. REID
27 John G. Dow
28 Joseph Y. Resnick
29 Leo W. O'Brien
30 CARLETON J. KING
31 ROBERT C. MCEWEN
32 *ALEXANDER PIRNIE*
33 HOWARD W. ROBISON
34 James M. Hanley
35 Samuel S. Stratton
36 FRANK J. HORTON
37 BARBER B. CONABLE JR.
38 CHARLES E. GOODELL
39 Richard D. McCarthy
40 HENRY P. SMITH III
41 Thaddeus J. Dulski

North Carolina
1 (vacant)
2 L.H. Fountain
3 David H. Henderson
4 Harold D. Cooley
5 Ralph J. Scott
6 Horace R. Kornegay
7 Alton Lennon
8 CHARLES RAPER JONAS
9 JAMES T. BROYHILL
10 Basil L. Whitener
11 Roy A. Taylor

North Dakota
1 MARK ANDREWS
2 Rolland Redlin

Ohio
AL Robert E. Sweeney
1 John J. Gilligan
2 DONALD D. CLANCY
3 Rodney M. Love
4 WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH
5 DELBERT A. LATTA
6 WILLIAM H. HARSHA JR.
7 CLARENCE J. BROWN JR.
8 JACKSON E. BETTS
9 Thomas L. Ashley
10 Walter H. Moeller
11 J. WILLIAM STANTON
12 SAMUEL L. DEVINE
13 CHARLES A. MOSHER
14 WILLIAM H. AYRES
15 Robert T. Secrest
16 FRANK T. BOW
17 JOHN M. ASHBROOK
18 *Wayne L. Hays*
19 Michael J. Kirwan
20 Michael A. Feighan
21 Charles A. Vanik
22 FRANCES P. BOLTON
23 WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

Oklahoma
1 PAGE BELCHER
2 Ed Edmondson
3 Carl Albert
4 Tom Steed
5 John Jarman
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The Danger of Positive Thinking

Liberals have completely distorted Prof. Milton Friedman's idea of a "negative income tax" to replace welfare programs.

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

It's becoming positively dangerous to think. If you don't believe this, just contemplate for a moment what has happened to an idea advanced a year or so ago by Prof. Milton Friedman, who teaches economics at the University of Chicago.

Friedman, who is generally classified as a conservative despite his insistence that he is a true liberal, offered his services to the Republican party in 1964. He was generally thought of as one of Barry Goldwater's "think tank," although it was never very demonstrable that the Republican presidential nominee

Prof. Friedman says his plan "makes sense only as a substitute for the present program."

used him when it came to writing speeches.

One of Milton Friedman's controversial ideas was the "negative income tax." Under the workings of the "negative" tax, people making less than, say, $3,000 a year would be automatically entitled to a government subsidy sufficient to bring them close to the income level of those in the lowest taxable bracket. Friedman offered his idea as a substitute or replacement for the bewildering tissue of welfare and Social Security payments that now keep huge bureaucratic organizations busy in Washington.

Once it got moving, the "negative tax" outlay would allow the federal government to get out of the business of subsidizing housing and running job camps and fighting for an extension of minimum wage laws. Thus the "poverty gap" could be closed with savings to the economy all around as the welfare bureaucracies shriveled and returned able-bodied employes to the productive side of the economy.

The virtue of the Friedman idea was its marvelous simplicity. It would acknowledge that the government has a duty to see that nobody is left to rot below the poverty line. But it would leave it up to the free individual in the free society to do his own thinking and acting in the effort to make something of his life.

Alas for Friedman's suggestion, it was never taken up by conservatives. Instead, it has fallen into the hands of those whom Friedman would call the pseudo-liberals. They are now advocating a "negative income tax," not as a substitute for farm subsidy payments, Job Corps, Medicare, Social Security and relief allowances, but as something to be piled on top of everything else.

Sargent Shriver, the head of the Office of Economic Opportunity, is the latest to espouse the Friedman "negative tax" plan. But the anti-poverty boss obviously does not suggest the plan as a cost-saving alternative to the continuation of his own organization.

For in addition to the "negative tax" Shriver also proposes government creation of "socially useful jobs" for the unskilled poor. Presumably the Office of Economic Opportunity, or some similar body, would have to devise the jobs, train the people for them and provide the money for wages. This would all be in addition to the "negative tax" payments, for Shriver speaks of the federal government putting up 90 per cent of the cost.

Last September this columnist had the pleasure of listening to Milton Friedman at the Mont Pelerin Society economic conference at Stresa, in Italy. When I expressed a fear that the liberals would turn his money-saving suggestions inside out, using them as an excuse for more rather than less government spending, he thought a minute. Then he said, "I fear you are absolutely right." But he still insists that it is the business of thinkers to think. And in a recent publication of the National Industrial Conference Board he writes that his negative income tax program "makes sense only as a substitute for the present program, not as another rag in the bag."

In pressing their thinking, the Friedman-type simplifiers are making some converts, even if they haven't persuaded Sargent Shriver to see it wholly their way. For example, Irving Kristol, once a card-carrying liberal, has been quoted recently as saying that a simple tax cut for low-income people would go far toward solving a problem which he thinks has been exaggerated in any case. This, coming from a liberal, is close to heresy.

What this column would like to witness is a debate between Milton Friedman and Sargent Shriver, with Irving Kristol as the moderator. It could be that Shriver, worried about the scandals that are developing in the down-the-line administration of his program, would yield to Friedman's persuasiveness at least to a greater degree, even though it is unlikely that he would give up all the rags in his bag in favor of a simple scandal-proof way of helping the poor.

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GOP IN THE SOUTH—Pollster George Gallup recently indicated the Republicans must concentrate on the South if they are ever to win control of the House. "Typically, the Republican party wins only 10 or 12 of the 119 House seats allocated to the South," he said. "With the Democrats coming out of the South with a lead of 100 seats or more, Republicans must win two-thirds of the seats in the rest of the country to win a majority in the House."

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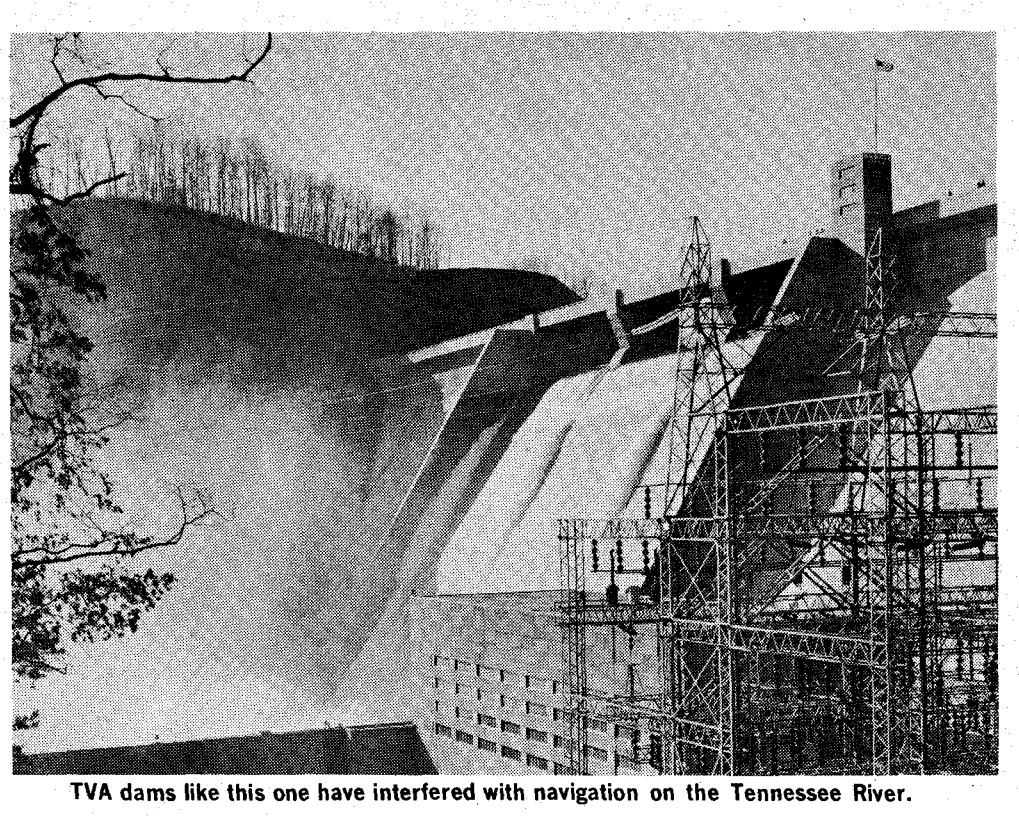
FBI's CRITICS—The Federal Bureau of Investigation is a sitting target for "uninformed critics" in every special interest group in the country, a top FBI official charged recently. Assistant Director Cartha D. DeLoach answered critics within the civil rights movement by noting that FBI agents turned over 3,489 violations to the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department for prosecution during fiscal 1965. The FBI, he said, is an investigative body that cannot prosecute or set basic policy.



TVA dams like this one have interfered with navigation on the Tennessee River.

Evolution of the TVA Octopus

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The Tennessee Valley Authority, the nation's biggest user of coal, announces that it will invite bids early next year on both a nuclear and a coal-fired power station, and will consider building a nuclear unit "if the price is right."

The giant federal power system, operating in seven Southeastern states, thus has injected a new factor into the growing competition between coal producers and atomic power to supply the fuel needs of utilities.

There are two obvious comments to be made on the TVA declaration that it is open-minded about turning to a nuclear-driven generating plant. The first is that TVA has made a further radical departure from its orginal pretext for coming into being in 1933. These were stated to be irrigation, navigation and flood control, with the production of hydroelectric power only as an incidental by-product.

The second observation is that the Johnson Administration, by giving sanction to TVA consideration by turning to nuclear generating plants, is going directly against its announced program of fighting poverty in the 11-state area termed "Appalachia." This is a billion-dollar operation. Appalachia, which partially overlaps the TVA empire, is substantially dependent upon coal mining for its livelihood, yet here is TVA proposing to diminish the market for coal. Thus two government projects are at odds with each other.

Especially was there no warrant for the government to use a tax-subsidized power business to club down the prices of private utilities so that their rates were brought down to what the planners deemed a "reasonable" level. This strategem was justified under the spurious contention that TVA would provide a "yardstick" of what proper rates ought to be.

When the constitutionality of the TVA operation came before the Supreme Court, that tribunal dodged. It held that the federal power to regulate commerce covers all navigable streams; that the control of floods is necessary to keep streams navigable and that navigation and flood control dams may be used "incidentally" to generate electricity as a by-product.

Of course, this was a fictitious rationalization. TVA "controled" floods by putting half a million acres under water. The Army Engineers conceived that the maximum possible damage of a flood on the Tennessee River was $2.25 million in any year, yet the annual interest charges on $153 million charged off by TVA to flood control by 1947 ran to $3.5 to $4 million a year, so that the interest charge alone exceeded the anticipated loss in any year caused by flooding.

The TVA dams naturally interfered with navigation, so that an extensive series of locks and canals were built at a cost of $158 million up to 1958. It has been computed that if all the freight carried on the Tennessee had been shipped by rail, with the government paying the freight bill, the cost to taxpayers would have been about one-third of the cost of providing "navigation" on the river.

When TVA went to steam plants, it confessed the duplicity of the contention that it was generating hydroelectric power as a "by-product" of navigation, irrigation and flood control. Its readiness to extend its operations with nuclear generating plants is merely substantiation of the original fraud imposed on the people.

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"GUERRILLA POLITICS"—A group of ultra-liberal Democrats is mapping plans to raise campaign funds for "peace" candidates in the 1966 elections. The groundwork for such a movement was laid within the past two months at a closed-door meeting in Santa Barbara, Calif., according to Carl Greenberg of the Los Angeles *Times*. Those in attendance at the top-secret meeting included Congressmen Philip Burton and George Brown, California Democrats, State Assemblyman Willie Brown, another Democrat, and Nobel Prize-winning scientist Linus Pauling. One of the delegates in attendance at the Santa Barbara meeting reportedly declared there is "guerrilla" grass-roots opposition to President Johnson's policies and suggested what is needed is "guerrilla politics."

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Conservative Students Have Not Given Up the Fight at Berkeley

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Berkeley, Calif.:—This is a beautiful campus, one of the most beautiful I have ever seen as it hugs the gracious hills of northern California. Here a generous state has laid out halls of learning now being profaned by a perverse faculty and a strident student minority. All the sins of liberal acquiesence to the false preachments of Marxism-Leninism have been visited on this University of California campus.

This was the first lesson of the riots that shook Berkeley—and the nation. Free and Foul Speech Movements pillaged the academic calm of Berkeley. And across the nation, like Pavlov's salivating dogs, the liberal response was even more frightening.

With no fewer than 18 student groups—ranging from Maoist to Castroite to unattached kook—and with such by-blows as the Sexual Freedom League and its nude swimins—the Liberal Establishment still could relish the mass lawlessness of the convulsive Berkeley student riots.

But a visit to the campus under its bright December sun showed me that all is not lost. The students do not run in their beatnik tatters from class to class. In fact, there were fewer sheepdog haircuts and matted beards to be seen in a 15-minute stroll than on most streets of midtown New York or the collegiate haunts of Washington's Foggy Bottom. No one picketed or heckled when I spoke, though the student newspaper had given some publicity to my appearance there.

Most encouraging, however, was the dedicated activity of the outnumbered but hardy group of campus conservatives. Despite the contumely of their contemporaries and the sometimes open hostility of elements of the faculty, they have gone about the business of presenting their viewpoint with a calm efficiency and good humor which put to shame the hysterical fulminations of the student left.

The contrast, both in content and style, between the Berkeley conservatives and the liberal-left-Communist antagonists, is more than somewhat significant.

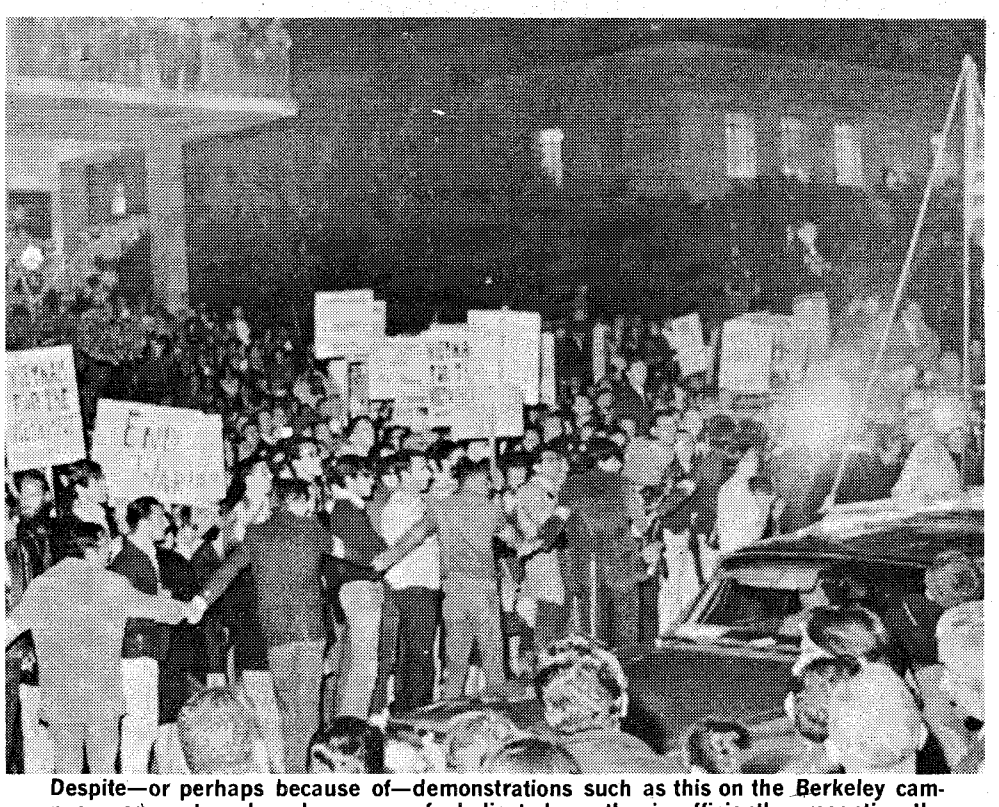
What created this responsible and mature counter-force in motion? A political reading of Newton's Third Law—that every action begets an opposite reaction—is only part of the answer. Revulsion over what the prancing speechniks and Vietniks have done to corrupt liberalism is also a factor. But of greater importance has been the impact of such publications as *National Review* and *Human Events* and of the Goldwater groundswell.

At the University of California in Berkeley I saw at first hand what the University Society of Individualists—an affiliate of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists—and the activist California Conservatives for Political Action have done. From separate offices at 2521 Durant Avenue in Berkeley, in what was once a fine old mansion, both groups have brought their conservative teachings to a benighted university.

As an educational group, USI has not espoused candidates or battled for specific legislative proposals. But its president, David Levy, a pleasant and quiet young man, has pushed forward a program for collecting in USI's library what has already become an important collection of conservative books and pamphlets as well as research materials on the rabid left. The campus newspaper has refused to publicize this scholarly effort, perhaps cognizant that the Free Speech Movement could not compete with its own readings from Henry Miller, William Burroughs and the Marquis de Sade.

The CCPA, headed by Donald Hackett, is an outgrowth of the Goldwater campaign. It has jumped into the ideological fray against the multitudinous organizations of the extremist left. In the first year of its existence, it has distributed between 300,000 and 400,000 pieces of conservative literature.

And, to quote Lynden Davis, its administrative vice president, "We have put up a legal literature table on campus every clement school day. We have provided the only effective campus opposition to the Viet Nam Day Committee,



Despite—or perhaps because of—demonstrations such as this on the Berkeley campus, an outnumbered group of dedicated youths is efficiently presenting the conservative message.

including campus debates, radio debates, speeches at Berkeley and other local campuses."

Both CCPA and USI (through its parent, ISI) have brought speakers to the campus who discussed the moral, social and political issues of our times. Both groups are supported by contributions, but CCPA has, in its own words, raised most of its money by relying on "good old American enterprise—the sale of buttons and bumper stickers."

I chatted with these committed, yet never fanatic young people at Berkeley and I regretted only that I was not of their age and in campus battles that may determine the future of America.

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Dean Acheson Again Disappoints the Liberals

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

Advancing years have brought change, and perhaps greater wisdom to Dean Acheson.

At 72 the former secretary of state is voicing ideas which would seem likely to outrage the doctrinaire liberals of the "Great Society," ideas which do not seem to conform with what he was saying 15 and 20 years ago.

The change became apparent about five years ago when Mr. Acheson startled a good many people by declaring that incessant talk, talk, talk with the Communists helps the Reds and hurts the free world. He said in effect that while the diplomats were gabbing the Communists were grabbing, that negotiations without clearly defined purposes were simply a shield for Red duplicity.

Shut up and stay home, said Dean Acheson. Go to the conference table only when the West's position is strong and when the Reds want something so badly they are willing to make a deal from which our side can gain something of importance.

Washington did not pay much attention to Mr. Acheson then. Nor is it doing so now as the United States scans the skies looking for signs that the Communists might come to the conference table to talk about Viet Nam. There are no such signs. The fighting grows fiercer.

Now Mr. Acheson has chosen to speak out on a related subject. He said in a television broadcast, a few sentences of which were reprinted in the *Wall Street Journal*, that he believes it is a mistake to rush in and try to halt every scrap that occurs the world around. Said Mr. Acheson:

"If we allow some of these to reach their natural conclusions, some of these countries would be more careful in what they do. India and Pakistan are actually one of these.

"When everbody rushes in and says, 'Stop, stop, stop, you mustn't fight,' people will go farther in taking adversary positions than they would if nobody was going to stop the results of their confrontations."

Such words are, of course, outrageous heresy in the cacophonous caverns of the United Nations, where every hint of a border skirmish has the delegates quivering with indignation.

Perhaps Mr. Acheson's advice is a better idea than disarmament conferences at which so many hollow words are uttered and nothing of consequence is accomplished.

Former Secretary of State Acheson says incessant talk with the Communists only hurts the free world.

Instead of "Stop, stop," the advice might well be: "If you are determined to blow your fool heads off, go ahead."

Dean Acheson's guess is that the scrappers would promptly become less scrappy and would then proceed to try to work out bloodless solutions.

We have no illusions that such sensible advice will be tested soon. The present mood of the world seems to call for bigger and more preposterous conferences with such "peace-loving" aggregations as the Communist Chinese in attendance.

But it is possible that some people are thinking about alternatives to the barren peace policies of the mid-1960s and, if so, Dean Acheson's advice some day may be taken seriously.

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LESLIE GOULD, distinguished financial columnist of the New York *Journal American*, reports that federal, state and local governments now spend more than $203 billion a year, about three times as much as they did 15 years ago and 10 times as much as prewar. "The tax collectors now garner $165 billion a year, more than treble the total 15 years ago and nearly 13 times prewar collections," he adds. "Even with ballooning of taxes, governments are going deeper and deeper into debt. The combined debt of the three will reach $420 billion this year, which compares with $281.5 billion in 1950 and $63.3 billion prewar."

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RFK's Wanderlust No Help to U.S.

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy returns from Latin America obviously determined to increase his pressures on President Johnson's foreign policies.

It's widely agreed that Mr. Kennedy has chosen this way to line himself up for the White House, and so far the President has displayed great patience with this ploy. For the record shows our nation needs Bobby's influence in foreign affairs about as much as we need a cholera epidemic.

His main pitch in Latin America, begun some years ago at the University of Toronto, was to eulogize youth revolutions per se. Bobby makes himself one of the boys. He has scheduled some speeches in strife-torn South Africa. We're suffering from a lack of revolutions throughout the world? And who is Bobby Kennedy to intrude on the sovereignty of friendly powers, anyway?

It was a mission of mischief. He reportedly assured audiences that if a Communist were elected president of a Latin nation, the United States would not intervene. Hey! Only the President has the authority to announce such a commitment. Hasn't Bobby heard?

Moreover, what gall even to open his mouth about Latin America. Chroniclers of President Kennedy's period paint Bobby into their books as practically a co-President, and the consequences of the Bay of Pigs alone complicate Mr. Johnson's problems beyond measure.

Yet Bobby couldn't wait to criticize Mr. Johnson's Dominican Republic intervention, claiming Mr. Johnson had not worked enough through the Organization of American States.

This was double-talk at the double-time. When Bobby was asked (May 7, 1965) whether, in fact, he and President Kennedy had consulted the OAS before the Bay of Pigs he replied, "No."

"I don't think we handled the Bay of Pigs well," Bobby added. I doubt that Mr. Johnson would disagree.

Within a year and a half Russia had been so encouraged that she placed her troops and missiles in Cuba. This required President Kennedy to "confront" the USSR. He ordered the blockade and incredibly, took it off in less than 30 days.

Within another year Castro's Latin-American subversion was so damaging that President Kennedy was forced to make a trip and tell protesting leaders in the hemisphere that there was nothing he could do to help it.

Six elected Latin American governments promptly fell, including Dr. Juan Bosch's government in the Dominican Republic. President Kennedy was then forced to recognize and support the military junta that threw Bosch out. This was the Dominican mess tossed to Mr. Johnson, and Bobby, of all people, criticizes his handling of it!

As for Southeast Asia, President Johnson actually tried him out once.

President Kennedy acquiesced in Sukarno's campaign against the Netherlands' New Guinea in December 1961. The result forced our NATO ally to cede it. Feeding on that success of aggression, Sukarno then swore to crush free Malaysia.

At this point President Johnson allowed Robert F. Kennedy to charge into the picture, alas, and Bobby staged his much-publicized "cease-fire" conference with Sukarno in Tokyo.

He not only offered to review more aid to Sukarno but also proposed himself to mediate with the British and Dutch and shocked every knowing man by announcing that Sukarno "will live up to his agreements with me."

By sounding off in the world press about the internal affairs of quarreling nations, Bobby not only compounded an already bad situation but put America's neck right in the middle of the fight between Sukarno, the Dutch and the British—which is exactly where he left it for Mr. Johnson to struggle with today.

All Bobby needs to do now is to go to Viet Nam, as did his brother Ted, and come back and tell Mr. Johnson how to handle that catastrophe, too.

Theodore Sorensen writes that, overruling the advice of the Special Mission to South Viet Nam and of Vice President Johnson (please note), the Kennedy brothers refused to commit American troops to South Viet Nam. Then President Johnson had to commit these later on under much less advantageous circumstances and in vastly larger numbers.

The time has come for the President to blow the whistle on Bobby as an expert in foreign affairs. Both Mr. Johnson and the nation are entitled to at least that much protection.

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Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) waves to Chilean children during his recent Latin American journey, during which he was often heckled by pro-Communists.

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SIMPLE PROBLEM—"Gov. Brown has before him a plan to create 50,000 socially useful jobs in California at a cost of $250 million. That's only $5,000 per job, and when the first $250 million is gone, Washington only has to appropriate another $250 million. The big problems are really simple when you come to grips with them, aren't they?"—By John Grover in the Los Angeles *Times*

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"HEALTHY" PROTESTS—Sen. Robert Byrd (D.-W. Va.) has bluntly charged that anti-Viet Nam demonstrators are giving "aid and comfort to the enemy." At the same time he criticized President Johnson for brushing aside the demonstrations as "healthy" protests. "The day may come when he would like to swallow his words," Byrd said, adding that the anti-war demonstrations "encourage the Viet Cong, impair the morale of our fighting men and undermine the position of our government in Viet Nam and the world."

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CONTROL FOLLOWS AID—Federal "aid" is accompanied by staggering red tape and oppressive controls, according to the director of the Marion County (Indianapolis) Welfare Department. Wayne Stanton, who has been director of the county agency for six years, told the Indianapolis *News* that "once the federal government moves in there is a continuing increase in rules, regulations and red tape." County welfare department officials now spend almost 60 per cent of their time at their desks doing paperwork—and most all of it, says Stanton, is federal paperwork. "And once the federal government moves into a welfare area," Stanton says, "its control proliferates into related areas." Stanton says the county welfare department receives "an almost impossible number" of questionnaires and surveys to fill out and return to Washington. And everywhere, he says, "there is the implied threat that if you don't fulfill their every last request, you will lose your operating funds."

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Negro Author Says:

'De Facto Education' Is What Really Counts

By GEORGE SCHUYLER

(With the prospects of more school boycotts and "busing" controversies in sight, North American Newspaper Alliance asked George S. Schuyler, the conservative Negro newspaperman and author, what advice he had for young Negroes. His counsel, as spelled out in this article, adds up to: "Study Hard!" Mr. Schuyler, author of Black No More, *has written for Negro publications for more than 40 years. His article, "Civil Rights Leaders Should Blame Themselves for Riots," appeared in* Human Events, *August 28.)*

While the civil rights sociologists continue their mental gymnastics to explain "watt" happened to make Los Angeles Negroes riot, and split hairs over whether firemen in a colored neighborhood should be white or Negro, it is pertinent to point out that six million "revolutionaries" went back to school in September.

These six million young Negroes—or at least a good number of them—have it within them to continue the true Negro revolution in America. It is a revolution of learning, and it has been going on for the last 40 years. It requires going to school every day, studying hard, doing your homework, staying out of trouble and not letting envy of the other guy fill your heart with hate.

The Negro in America enjoys something far more important than *de facto* integration or *de facto* segregation. He has *de facto* education, and it is up to him whether he wants to spend his time studying English and history and mathematics—or studying the city bus routes and playing armchair superintendent of schools.

Thanks to this real Negro revolution—of studious boys and girls who kept their nose to the books and tried to make something of themselves—there is no limit today to what the qualified Negro youth can accomplish, with ambition and study.

The observation of other Negroes' success should be a powerful stimulant to acquiring a good education, and more and more of these colored youths headed for school and college recognize that not even all the speechifying of the Rev. Martin Luther King, nor all the picketing of Mr. James Farmer can make a doctor or a lawyer out of a dropout.

On the other hand, there is also a phony Negro revolution, and unfortunately it is the one that makes all the headlines because headlines are what its leaders want. The phony revolution is created out of artificially stimulated frustration, the blighting of unrealistically inflated hopes, and the basic corrosion effected by the deceptive doctrine of non-violence and civil disobedience.

The phony Negro revolution is clothed in self-righteousness, but in actuality it has increased the hostility of the criminal element toward the law and opened the door to racist and subversive incindiarism. This exploitation of community and national anxieties has indirectly imperiled the development of the other, more meaningful revolution. There must be many a confused Negro youngster who thinks the most exalted feat a Negro can perform in America is picket a lunch counter.

It is becoming clearer, even to the most obtuse and immature, that civil rights alone are not enough for salvation—or else all white people would be prosperous and happy! After "Freedom Now" there is still to overcome automation, urban decay, family disintegration and the entrapment of urban slums; and it cannot be frightened away by floundering salamander-like on the streets or singing slave songs on courthouse steps and clamoring for a "moral confrontation."

The uneducated and untrained sense that they are losing out, and their self-styled leaders constantly remind them of it, but the educated and hard-working Negroes are gaining daily in giant steps.

The unballyhooed educational revolution began to roll in the early '20s when Negro college fraternities trumpeted the slogan "Go to High School—Go to College." Then there were not a dozen accredited high schools for Negroes in the entire South, where nine-tenths resided.

At the time, a college education meant little to a Negro not intending to teach school or to pursue a career as physician or dentist, usually "among his own people." The bristling barriers facing him resembled a stockade. Business, industry, science and politics were almost exclusively lily-white, and had nothing to offer the colored man with a college degree. He was a strange bird on the American scene and few knew what to make of him. The biggest employers of colored college men were the railroads in their terminals as red caps and the Pullman cars as porters.

Negro lawyers were scarce and usually briefless. Those aspiring to become physicians and dentists could get training at only two Negro medical schools, internship only in Negro municipal hospitals, and could not attend their patients in the few private hospitals that admitted them. The professional societies were as white as a sheet.

It took a lot of faith, courage, ambition and persistence then for a young Negro to continue through college, with the help of poor parents and odd jobs, for a career in doubt from the start.

Under the circumstances, it is truly remarkable that each year since World War I around 5,000 graduated and now it is close to 15,000. There were mighty few scholarships available. Today, with doors open on every side and mountains of scholarships available, a Negro youth has to be very backward not to be able to win a degree and a good job after graduation.

Since 1945 and war's end, when the quiet revolution picked up steam, the number of Negroes in professional pursuits has increased 32 times. They now constitute 13 per cent of federal Civil Service employes, and a significant number in the higher pay brackets as executives and sub-executives proliferate. There are more than three-score Negro judges on various levels from the municipal to federal benches. At least two districts have colored federal attorneys. They fill 280 elective offices, including six congressmen and 90-odd state legislators —10 in Georgia alone.

Yes, it is not lack of opportunity, nor lack of educational facilities, that is "holding back" the Negro masses of America. Indeed America, north and south, eagerly awaits the growing numbers of industrious, responsible, educated Negroes who can play a constructive role in society. One Negro chemist or one Negro shop owner is—in the true Negro revolution—worth a thousand complaining picketers.

The school-bound Negro youngster who is interested in industry, commerce, manufacture and finance may take courage to pursue his studies by considering what has happened in those fields since the quiet revolution got up full steam after World War II.

Big corporations today are hunting as assiduously for educated Negroes as the ante-bellum slavers sought husky ones. Spurred by growing demands, the National Urban League (NUL) has staged talent hunts throughout the colored world seeking likely recruits. Since 1949, with its aid, corporations have each year descended on the campuses of a half-dozen accredited Negro schools seeking seniors with high marks to start working at professional salaries.

They are employed as chemists, draftsmen, architects, designers, meteorologists, mathematicians, statisticians, sales executives, dietitians, metallurgists. Many are working in rocketry and moon landing projects.

Perhaps the most spectacular aspect of the quiet Negro revolution has been the acceptance of the Negro in the Armed Forces on a completely integrated basis, a fact for the past 15 years, despite initial objections of the highest officers, including Gen. Eisenhower. Wherever there are American Armed Forces today, there are Negroes intermingled throughout. There are more than 3,000 Negro Army officers, 2,200 Air Force officers and 300 Naval, Coast Guard and Marine officers, and there is no discrimination, no segregation by "race."

Ironically, while the first young Negroes seeking flight training in the '20s could not get it in a single American flying school and had to go to France, today the chief of staff of the Air Corps in South Korea is colored Lt. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis Jr.

It is also a measure of the quiet Negro revolution that nurses are so completely integrated that the Negro nurses had to happily disband their racial organization. One finds them serving everywhere in civil and military life.

One rarely hears of the Southern Negro farmer, save with a panting mob in his wake, and yet this group—constantly augmented by young college-trained agriculturists in the past 20 years—is one of the most stable and progressive in Negro life. Latest records show 265,621 non-white farms, of which 89,749 are fully owned; 37,534 partly owned. There are 1,000 Negro soil specialists and farm agents. Diversification is now the rule and so is mechanization, including cotton picking machines, tractors and trucks. None of the civil rights organizations have been interested in that aspect of Southern Negro living.

So the quiet Negro revolution marked by the acceptance and the success of the educated colored folk goes on. They are still too few but they are increasing because, in the paucity of training and talent, America needs and wants them, and has proved it. One does not have to harp to the intelligent Negroes on the need for staying in school.

They will learn that *de facto* education is more important than *de facto* integration; that singing the blues never advanced anyone but entertainers, and that the worst schools are better than those attended by Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln.

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Fight Against Communism

Churches Must Take the Lead

From the San Diego *Union*

Even the most misguided and fatuous of the American minority who look with complacency upon the internal dangers of communism would have to admit the Marxist dogma has certain indisputable premises.

Marxists contend that the individual does not have the right to freedom of speech or self determination, but is a tool of the state.

Their philosophy rejects the principles of Christian morality, strips a person of his belief in God, his trust in love, justice and mercy. It is an anathema to brilliance and intellectualism because it does not believe in variation from the official state doctrine or an open mind.

At the roots of the entire vicious and false Marxist philosophy, if it can be dignified with that term, is the fact that its basic credo is atheism.

This is one of the compelling reasons why clergymen of all faiths should heed the words of the Rev. Robert C. Watts of La Jolla, Calif.

The Rev. Mr. Watts properly insists that an "aroused and fighting church" must be in the forefront of the battle against communism or Communistic dupes who are threatening us with defeat at home while we battle the Reds abroad.

As the complete antithesis to the atheistic Communistic philosophies, Christians everywhere and their spiritual leaders must be in the forefront of the civilian war against it.

The churches have a special obligation because they rank second only to the home as a teacher of moral principles that must be instilled among young people to fight the contempt for established ideals and institutions that atheistic communism urges.

"In our special character as God-fearing people, we must rise up and fight for decency, for our freedoms and for our God." The strategy is in the words of St. Paul, the Rev. Mr. Watts said.

"Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might. Put on the whole armor of God."

That means that God-fearing Americans must rearm themselves with the lessons of industriousness, morality and obedience to God that are implicit in the Bible. It means they should return to the basis of basic constitutional principles for guidance. It means that they should stand up for what is right.

It also means, as the Rev. Mr. Watts suggests, that having done this the good Americans must go into action. They can demand compliance of the law, the teaching of morality and Americanism, boycott the purveyors of filth and fight for the principles of freedom.

And churches have the obligation to be in the forefront of the battle because their own survival hinges on the outcome.

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Russia's Crackdown on Writers

Why has there been no significant outcry from the usually vocal Western liberals?

From the Arizona *Republic*

If a Western government imprisoned a writer or artist for anti-government behavior, including belonging to a subversive organization, the Communists—if it was to their advantage to do so—would whip up worldwide demonstrations, appeals, protests and petitions. Defense funds would be established, the writer or artist would be elevated to virtual martyrdom, and the world's conscience would be deeply stirred.

And the most conspicuous names on the appeals and petitions would be those of non-Communists.

On September 13 the Soviet Union arrested two Russian writers on charges of having published anti-Soviet writings outside the Soviet Union under the pen names of Abram Tertz and Nikol Arzhak. The two are imprisoned in Moscow's infamous Lubyanka Prison.

Yet, except for one or two feeble pleas to the Soviet government for leniency, there has been no significant outcry against the jailings—certainly nothing that could begin to rival the size of the outcry that would develop if the prisoners were Communists or fellow travelers.

Last week 18 American writers sent a letter to Soviet Premier Alexsei Kosygin. It reminded the Russian boss that East-West dialogue might be blighted if prosecutions were carried out, as might the new growth of Russia's own culture "in the freer atmosphere of the post-Stalin decade." The letter ended limply: "We, therefore, ask you to review the . . . case in a broader context than it seems to have been considered up to now."

Earlier, 15 Italian writers sent a cablegram to Mikhail Sholokhov, winner of this year's Nobel Prize for literature, protesting the arrests. And a British publisher flew to Stockholm to persuade Sholokhov to speak out in defense of the two writers whose short stories and satire attacked totalitarianism. But party member Sholokhov (who, it is widely believed, was awarded the Nobel Prize in order to assuage Red anger over an earlier award to anti-Communist Russian writer Boris Pasternak) ignored their appeals . . . as befits a longtime friend of Nikita Khrushchev and a longtime obedient follower of the Communist line.

It can be argued that Western intellectuals and artists need not apologize for joining in even Communist-backed appeals on behalf of imprisoned artists anywhere in the world. After all, freedom of expression is an effective guarantee against despotism. And dictators usually begin by curbing the literati and continue until they have throttled everyone else.

What is less defensible is that those Western intellectuals and artists whose names are regularly affixed to every petition which finds favor with the Communist left, seldom if ever protest Communist crackdowns on the arts (the treatment of Pasternak being an honorable exception).

Somehow they draw a distinction between Tito's imprisonment of Milovan Djilas and the U.S. government's imprisonment of Communist members of the Hollywood Ten—the distinction being that they ignore the first and protest the second.

The most succinct explanation for this double standard lies in the mistaken but widely held notion that only political rightists are to be feared, that there are no enemies on the left.

Leave the Tourists Alone

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Last year, when the Administration was brainstorming for ideas to curtail the large balance-of-payments deficit in American trade, someone came up with the idea of discouraging U. S. tourist travel abroad by imposing a head tax of $50 or $100. The proposal was denounced in such critical terms that the Administration dropped it like a heavy bag.

Now, however, according to columnists Allen and Scott, the idea has popped up again. The balance-of-payments situation has improved little from last year, despite a couple of emergency measures taken in Washington.

In the coming year, it is estimated that a record two million Americans will travel outside this country, and the Administration is concerned that the current $1.6-billion deficit caused by tourist travel will increase. So the Budget Bureau is suggesting that a $10 or $15 tax be levied on each American as he takes a trip abroad. As the measure is now contemplated, the President would have authority to increase the amount later on; the Budget Bureau foresees that it may not be long before the tax becomes $50 or $100, as first suggested.

However, Secretary of the Treasury Fowler is heartily opposed to levying a tax on American travelers, and rightly so. In Mr. Fowler's view, the government has not yet exhausted its resources to curb the payments deficit; the travel tax represents a negative approach to the problem rather than a positive one. He suggests that the government concentrate on encouraging foreign tourists to visit the United States, and that a bill giving foreign businessmen a tax incentive to invest in the United States be approved.

In addition, the government could refine the foreign aid program that contributes so heavily to the balance-of-payments problem and devote more attention to the deterioration of the American Merchant Marine.

But the Budget Bureau reportedly would prefer the more expedient method of taxing departing tourists. Not everyone who travels abroad is wealthy; on the contrary, a great number of American tourists are students, retired persons, and school teachers. Perhaps a $15 tax would not work a real hardship upon them, but if the amount later were increased to, say, $100, travel abroad might be heavily curtailed.

This might make the government happy, and improve the balance-of-payments problem by a few million dollars. But as long as the government has other means of trimming the payments deficit, it seems to us that the tourist should be left alone.

Rep. Edwin Willis (D.-La.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities

Frank Wilkinson, executive director of the National Committee to Abolish HCUA

HCUA Has a Job to Do

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Under a relaxation of Ohio State University rules concerning speakers, Frank Wilkinson has carried his crusade to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities to Columbus and several other Ohio campus sites. Having been heard in a debate on the University of Cincinnati campus last year, Wilkinson was turned down in his effort to add UC to his recent itinerary.

Speaking as executive director of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, Wilkinson follows a tiresome technique that seems ever new to immature minds, which picture him as a David arrayed against a monstrous Goliath.

His stock in trade is that the committee is "engaged in thought-control," is "prying into personal political beliefs" and is "unconstitutional."

The constitutionality of the committee already would seem to have been disposed of, inasmuch as Wilkinson spent the better part of a year in prison for contempt of Congress for refusal to answer questions of the committee. His case was appealed to the Supreme Court, and he lost.

So much smoke has been created by foes of the committee over a period of years that its function has been obscured.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities (which leftists invariably refer to as the "House Un-American Activities Committee") is a standing committee of Congress with duly constituted powers to investigate as well as to seek basis for legislation. When the committee investigates for this purpose, it is not exceeding the authority given it by the House.

Early in World War II, when it was known as the Martin Dies committee, the group did a massive job of identifying Nazi agents and supporters. Its unpopularity did not develop until it began probing Communist activities — the most celebrated episode being the unmasking of Alger Hiss by Whittaker Chambers.

Contrary to wide impression, the committee does not summon people and question them aimlessly. It has a very large staff of investigators, reinforced by undercover workers. In the normal course the committee gathers information on the activities of a certain group, or individuals. If the activity is deemed of a subversive nature, those involved are summoned as witnesses.

Why does the committee summon hostile witnesses?

Initially, the committee had a potent weapon. When it took up a case, it was prepared to prove, by witnesses or evidence, what activity or alliance was involved, so that anyone who appeared before the committee and lied under oath was subject to prosecution for perjury.

Reluctant witnesses finally found a way around that by invoking the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination. Now we have the spectacle of some witnesses "taking the Fifth" on hundreds of questions. Supposed members of the Ku Klux Klan used the same device as did those linked with Communist activities.

This does not mean, however, that the committee has been completely frustrated. Its role of exposure, prudently exercised, is a valuable one; indeed, in light of recent Supreme Court decisions, it may be all we have left in our arsenal with which to fight domestic Communists. This will be demonstrated in further investigation of the Ku Klux Klan and, subsequently, the Black Muslim movement.

The talk about "thought-control" is a red herring.

Former President Truman was the first to direct that government appointments be checked with the records of the committee and the procedure has been followed thousands of times.

The nation has a very legitimate right to keep tab on the enemies of our freedoms.

□ □ □

CREDIT FOR SLAVS—The Department of Agriculture recently announced issuance of a Food for Peace authorization to Communist Yugoslavia to finance the credit purchase of $23 million worth of U.S. wheat. American grants and credits in economic and military aid to Yugoslavia now total $2.8 billion. Writing from Belgrade, the Chicago *Tribune*'s Clyde Farnsworth declared: "It would take a batallion of certified public accountants to determine what share of this was charity to a Communist regime, or how much of the outlay the United States got or hopes to get back. . . ."

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